

*Sigayan's Costumbres de los Indios Tirurayes was a product of the Spanish Jesuit mission in Tamantaka, near Cotabato City, on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines.*

*Since their first unsuccessful campaign under Figueroa against the Maguindanaon in 1578, Spanish relations with the Muslims of Cotabato had consisted of centuries of ephemeral treaties and mutual hostilities. The Jesuits had a small two-padre mission in Cotabato in 1748, but they had to evacuate after a mere six months. Only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Spanish brought steam-powered gunboats to bear, were conditions in Cotabato sufficiently stable for the Jesuits to return. In 1859, they were invited to resume missionary work in Mindanao, and, in 1862, a mission was opened in Tamantaka to convert the Muslim Maguindanaon of the lowlands and the animist Teduray of the mountains.*

*One of the Jesuits at Tamantaka, Padre Guerrico Bennasar, took the mission to the Teduray as his own. A French visitor in 1866 wrote:*

*We were welcomed at Tamantaka by Father Guerrico, a Jesuit. He had established near the fort a mission for the Tiruray, a tribe of the hinterland with a primitive culture...The father taught them Christian doctrine, and how to read and write and even to sing...Father Guerrico knows Tiruray thoroughly, and has written a grammar and a dictionary of the language. The education of his beloved Tiruray is the one obsession of his life.<sup>1</sup>*

*Sigayan — or José Tenorio, as he was named at baptism — was a member of the first Teduray family to accept conversion at the Tamantaka mission. This occurred in 1863,*

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<sup>1</sup> Orleans (1870): 202-203, quoted in Costa (1965: 200-201.

*a year after the padres had arrived. Some nine years later, in 1872, at Padre Bennasar's request, he dictated in Teduray, the little volume which is here translated. It sets forth what is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest "ethnography" of his own tribal customs to be written by a Filipino. In 1892, Padre Bennasar published Sigayan's treatise at the Tipografía "Amigos del Pais" in Manila, in a bilingual edition, accompanying the Teduray text with a rather free translation into Spanish and several footnotes.*

*I made this translation of Sigayan's remarkable volume in 1969, and it was published in 1970 in Philippine Studies (vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 364-428). I based the translation on the Teduray text, not Bennasar's Spanish rendition, which in many places is more a paraphrase or expansion than a translation. My 1969 translation intentionally adhered very closely to the Teduray phrasing, in an effort to capture Sigayan's flavor and expressive style in the original. In consequence, I paid a certain price in English prose style. I added footnotes wherever it seemed useful, for textual considerations or for elaboration of context. I revised my 1968 translation in 2014, to somewhat smooth out the flow of the words, without losing any of the tone or accuracy of content, and I added some additional footnotes and references.*

*Three Teduray men were of invaluable assistance to me in the preparation of this translation: the late Mamerto Martin, Aliman Francisco, and Ansu Tenorio. Without their aid, I would certainly have floundered. Funds for the project were provided by generous grants from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup> The Teduray people of Mindanao have been known to Westerners and most other Filipinos since Spanish colonial times, as "the Tiruray." But, this was due to a mispronunciation of their name.

## **THE CUSTOMS OF THE TEDURAY PEOPLE**

By José Tenorio (Sigayan)

### **I. Concerning Teduray Houses and Food**

1. You ask me where the Teduray people they come from.<sup>3</sup> They live in the area between Tamontaka<sup>4</sup> and the land of the Dulangan,<sup>5</sup> which I will not mention again, for the Dulangan are a different people. I refer only to the Teduray.<sup>6</sup> Their land reaches

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It was only in the 1980s that some literate Teduray women and men quite understandably began pressing to be referred to by their correct name. Now, use of “Teduray” in place of the long-familiar “Tiruray” has become appropriately commonplace in Filipino scholarship, newspapers, and other media.

3 The approach used by Bennasar was to ask Sigayan questions about various topics. Sigayan then typically refers to, or repeats, the query and proceeds to answer it. In this translation, I felt I should keep most of these reiterations of Bennasar’s questions, even though they can seem very repetitious.

4 Tamantaka is the community across the Tamantaka River, just north of Awang near Cotabato City, where the Jesuit mission was established and the Teduray “reduction” attempted.

5 “Dulangan” was the Teduray name for the Cotabato Manobo, the ethnic group occupying the Cotabato Cordillera to the south of the Teduray area. The term is derived from the name of a Manobo culture hero, and its use by the Teduray is considered pejorative and deeply resented by Manobo.

6 Sigayan is an Awang Teduray, and throughout this account of Teduray customs, he often is describing practices that are not pan-Teduray, but peculiar to the Awang subgroup, who differ in many highly significant ways from the other subgroups. The Awang people have been importantly influenced by the culture of their close neighbors, the Maguindanaon. They were once military allies with the Maguindanaon, and, like them, are more hierarchical than all other Teduray, more accustomed to exercising coercive power in their social relations, and far more accepting of violence as part of their lives. When Sigayan presents these traits as the way of the Teduray, he is speaking of the Awang people, not those from the mountains and rainforest. See Schlegel (1978). On the history of Teduray-Maguindanaon ethnic relations, see Schlegel (1972). For a general ethnographic account of the rainforest Teduray, see Schlegel (1998).

beyond the smaller branch of the Tran River to the sea coast, and as far as the *memilagé*.”<sup>7</sup>

2. I must explain to you that the Teduray do not stay permanently in a single place, nor do they group their houses together to form a village, where they could stay permanently. You will never find any such thing as that among them. They are scattered all over their homeland area. It is like a village to them, wherever a father, mother and children, along with their close relatives have their own piece of land, which they name after some nearby water.<sup>8</sup>

3. I will inform you that the largest number of houses they will build close together is ten, five, two, or perhaps three houses close together. That is frankly how they are. They mostly prefer a single house all by itself. That one would already be a village to them!

4. Their houses are poor — in fact laughable.<sup>9</sup> Just consider their posts. There is lots of timber where they live in the mountains, yet with all that wood they get posts that are only the size of a man's

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<sup>7</sup> The term *memilagé* refers to a group of people who today are usually called *balig*, and who live in the boundary area between the Cotabato Manobo and the Teduray. They are Manobo, who have adopted Teduray culture, but who speak the Teduray language with a marked accent.

<sup>8</sup> The settlements in which Teduray live are characteristically named after a nearby river, creek, or spring.

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the document, Sigayan reflects in his descriptions and comments the disdain he knows the Jesuits have for what they consider “pagan” or “primitive” Teduray customs. However, before judging him harshly for this, see the concluding section 146, where Sigayan states his true feelings.

arm. They do not get bigger ones, the size of a man's thigh. Only a few houses have good-sized posts. It is as though their houses were little field huts. Why, in fact, that is all they are — little field huts! No, not even that! They are the nests of doves!<sup>10</sup> Consider the way they stick the posts into the ground. It is not firmly, but as though they do not have bones to really dig in the ground.<sup>11</sup> So they stick their posts a few inches into the soil. So, if there is a wind, they must put supports on the house or it will fall down. Consider the beams of their houses, which are all of soft wood — since that is what they use for beams. Anyone going up into one of their houses would think that it is about to collapse.<sup>12</sup> The flooring of the house is made of tree bark; very few use bamboo. There are no real walls. A few people erect walls of bark, but the others merely hang several fronds of rattan. It is just luck that they survive with such a house, with no walls, and the wind free to pass through!<sup>13</sup> The roof is also made of rattan leaves; very few make use of grass-thatch<sup>14</sup> roofing.

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10 Sigayan says *marafati*, a kind of pigeon (*Columbia livia*?). All faunal and floral identifications I offer were made from specimens gathered during my fieldwork, by comparing them with those at the National Museum in Manila. See Schlegel (1971) and the appendices in Schlegel (1979).

11 “Do not have bones” is a Teduray expression, meaning “do not have enough strength.”

12 Sigayan ends the sentence with the obscure expression: “*i na bingbing so*.” *Bingbing* means to carry something by its handle, but neither I nor any of my Teduray friends were able to guess its meaning here. Bannasar renders the phrase, in his Spanish translation, as *por lo mucho que se mueven*, “for they move so much.” Perhaps a presently unknown idiom was involved.

13 The lack of walling is defensive, so that the occupants can look out and shoot arrows, if raiders attack them.

14 The ubiquitous tropical grasses, *Imperata cylindrica* (Linn.) and *Imperata exaltata* (Brong), are the usual roofing material in the lowlands, and thus probably what was most common among Awang Teduray. The rainforest Teduray used rattan, so plentiful in the forests.

5. Now, with regard to cooking, this is done in the house on a stove near the doorway. Their gangway is a log, cut with notches for steps, although there are a few who make actual ladders with rungs for their house.

6. For cooking, they use only a covered earthen pot,<sup>15</sup> nothing else. They have neither frying pans nor kettles.<sup>16</sup> Their ladle — a coconut shell! They have neither spoons nor forks, and most people eat off leaves, for few have plates. They use coconut shells for bowls.

7. These people are poor, and have no personal property. Each woman has just one sarong,<sup>17</sup> and the only clothes she has is what you see her wearing. So, too, with the men. All that they own are the clothes actually on their bodies. There are only a few among them who possess extra clothing. This is because they do not know how to weave. The Teduray are not like the Maguindanaon, whose women can weave. The Teduray are ignorant! There are a few among them who know the art of weaving — but not many.

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15 The Teduray word for pot is *kureng*. Today, they are made of iron, but the word traditionally referred to clay pots, obtained from Maguindanaon traders; the Teduray themselves did not manufacture pottery. The usual Teduray household — of father, mother, and unmarried children — is referred to as a *kureng*, because they all “eat from one pot.”

16 *Kaldero*, “large kettle,” from the Spanish *coldero*.

17 The Teduray sarong (*emut*) is a loop of cloth, which serves both as skirt and blanket.

8. Now, with regard to food, the Teduray eat rice, yams,<sup>18</sup> taro, corn, bananas, and a wide variety of other plants, as well as the fruit of trees.

## II. Concerting Their Beliefs. Their Religion, and *Beliyan*<sup>19</sup>

9. If you ask me when these people pray — they live in the forests like monkeys — they are not like the Maguindanaon who have their *pandita*,<sup>20</sup> and who have forms for their prayers. The Teduray people can, out of their ignorance, adjust in everything they do, except praying to Tulus.<sup>21</sup> Still, they do know that — according to them— they have a single Tulus, whose place they say is only in heaven.<sup>22</sup> They do not realize that God's habitation is everywhere around here.<sup>23</sup> These people pray to Tulus, and they have among

18 *Ubi*, actually, “sweet potato” *Ipomea batatas* (Linn.).

19 *Beliyan* are the Teduray shamans and religious specialists, who can be male or female. Their cosmos is populated by many spirits, and it is the special charisma of the *beliyan* that they are able to see and speak to them, for the spirits are invisible to ordinary people.

20 The *pandita*, in Maguindanaon social organization, is a man, well versed in the Koran, who serves as religious advisor to the district chief.

21 Tulus, in Teduray cosmology, is not a god, but is the creator spirit of all things, and foremost of all spirits. Tulus is neither male nor female, and, as there are no gender markings in Teduray grammar, I do not refer to Tulus as “he,” but always use the proper name, as do Sigayan and other Teduray. Bennasar, however, always translated Tulus as *Dios*, “God,” and Sigayan tiptoes around that identification as best he can.

22 There is nothing in the Teduray cosmos comparative to the Christian “heaven” that Bennasar had presented to Sigayan. The cosmic realm where Tulus lives is said to be “beyond the sky,” and a gorgeous, delightful place, but it is not a place where righteous souls go after death. There are a variety of such cosmic places, where the souls of the deceased reside, depending on the manner of their death. None of them is a place of punishment or reward.

23 The Teduray wording is unclear: “They do not realize that the *lakaliya* of God is everywhere around here.” I have been unable to locate any Teduray who is familiar with the word *lakaliya*. It may be a corruption of the Spanish *localidad*, I render it as “habitation,” following Bennasar’s Spanish version: *que habite en today la reddened de la tierra*.

them their *beliyan*. If you were to ask what a *beliyan* is, they would say it is like the Maguindanaon *pandita*. But there is a difference, because the Maguindanaon have their scriptures; the Teduray have none. (The Teduray have never known anything about writing.) The one called a *beliyan* by the Teduray is shameful and laughable. They say he has dreams; he sees Tulus and he talks to Tulus.

10. Now, in such a situation, what the *beliyan* does is go around calling the people to assemble. He makes a *tenines*<sup>24</sup> in a place where the people can gather together. There, the *beliyan* tells the people that he has seen Tulus and that, whenever he ate, Tulus ate with him from a single dish. And all the Teduray around believe him.

11. Here are a few other things that the *beliyan* does. He dances, with a wooden kris in his right hand, and with small jingle bells and a decorated wooden shield.<sup>25</sup> When he is finished dancing, he has the men dance — and the women — for that, they say, is their only worship of Tulus, and their manner of praying.

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24 A *tenines* is a small house, where the shaman keeps his or her paraphernalia. and where ritual rice is stored. In a footnote to his Spanish text, Bennasar misleadingly identifies the *tenines* as a chapel.

25 Bennasar's translation specifies that the small bells are tied to the shaman's legs and attached to his kris; he describes the shield as decorated with plumes. These are all accurate details, although absent from the Teduray text. He had doubtless witnessed such dancing.



12. Then, the *beliyan* tells the people that they will actually go to the realm of Tulus for, according to him, that is what Tulus has said. Therefore, some of the Teduray listening believe and, believing it to be true, are happy.

13. There are other things they do. The *beliyan* cooks food for Tulus, who, according to their belief, will eat it. And they set out a betel quid, which they say Tulus will also chew. They bring it to the *fesayawan*,<sup>26</sup> and place it in a *rangà*.<sup>27</sup>

14. Playing the *togò*<sup>28</sup> is another activity of the shaman. He has the people play the *togò*, as well. If it is played, he says, Tulus can hear it. If they play on two gongs,<sup>29</sup> according to him, Tulus will answer.<sup>30</sup>

### III. Concerning Their Divinities and Supernatural Beings

26 The *fesayawan* is a well-swept dirt clearing in front of a Teduray house, where ceremonies, dancing, and games are performed.

27 A *rangà* is, literally, a “chicken nest,” constructed by making several short spits in the end of a length of bamboo, splaying them out, and tying them into a funnel shape with rattan. A smaller version is used as the perch on which offerings are placed for Tulus or other spirits.

28 There are two kinds of *togò*: the *togò belotoken* is an eight-string bamboo zither, and the *togò tefuken* is a small drum, made of deer hide stretched over large bamboo, and accompanied by gongs. The text does not specify which kind of *togò* is referred to, and either would be possible in the context. Bennasar’s Spanish reads *tocar el tabor*, “play the drum,” so the reference is probably to the *togò tefuken*.

29 Normally, Teduray play gongs in an ensemble of five persons, each with a single gong. But, here the term used is *sesimfal*, which refers to a style of playing in which one person plays two gongs.

30 It is not clear what sort of answer Tulus will give. I have asked many Teduray about this passage, but none of them has ever heard of such a belief. Their usual guess is that the answer was probably rain or a rainbow, or, perhaps, a beautifully colored sky. Bennasar’s Spanish rendition says that God answers by playing “another” (*Dios contesta tocando otro*). Possibly, that was the observation of Sigayan’s shaman.

15. I will now tell you what the Teduray say. It is that they are all able to go to heaven. They also know that there is a *narakà*<sup>31</sup> but they claim that none of the Teduray go there, not even one. The Teduray say that the Maguindanaon are the ones that go to *narakà* because their god is a different one.

16. They know about the existence of Damangias,<sup>32</sup> but they say that he is far removed from them. Who do they call Damangias? He is a fellow who, in the old days, would test the righteous people. There are, as well, those whom they call *saitan*. It is they who are believed to cause sickness.<sup>33</sup>

17. Aside from Tulus, they say there is a man named Lagey Lengkuwos. He used to live on earth, when there were as yet no *beliyan*.<sup>34</sup> He was always going to visit heaven and coming back

31 *Narakà* is the Malay term, from Sanskrit, for “hell,” and is used with this meaning by Muslim Filipinos. The term, however, is very uncommon in Teduray, and is doubtless a borrowing of the Maguindanaon usage. There is no place in Teduray cosmology comparable to the Muslim or Western hell.

32 Damangias is the name of a particular spirit in Teduray mythology, who is constantly playing foolish tricks, and is regarded as the fountainhead of all foolishness. Bennasar generalizes the name, rendering it as *demonios*, “demons.”

33 Sicknesses, other than from physical accidents, are believed by Teduray to be inflicted by offended spirits, as, for example, when one is unintentionally mistreated due to being invisible to anyone not a shaman. Not all sicknesses are caused by *saitan*, who are intrinsically malign spirits, and cruel to humans for no cause.

34 Contrary to Sigayan’s statement here, Lagey Lingkuwos — the most famous of Teduray legendary culture heroes — was himself a renowned shaman, and there were many others in his day. His exploits, especially guiding his followers to dwell in the realm of Tulus “beyond the sky,” are well-known, because they are the subject of their great epic, the Berinarew, which is chanted at gatherings such as weddings, and which requires more than twelve nights to chant in its entirety. Lagey Lingkuwos is also said to be the person responsible for there being constellations of stars in the night sky, which the Teduray use as guides for timing their seasonal subsistence activities. Schlegel (1967, 1987).

again. Lagey Lengkuwos is said to have had a wife, whose name was Metiyatil Kenogon. Even though they never drew close together, they had a child, whose name was Matelegu Ferendam. The child was male.

18. In other stories about them, it was not Metiyatil who gave birth, but rather her necklace, which was known as Tafay Lalawan,<sup>35</sup> and which was a family treasure of great sentimental value. They were suddenly astonished to hear a child crying for its mother.

19. They claim it is Lagey Lengkuwos who will escort the Teduray *beliyan* to heaven. They will be able to see him because he will have his body. He is not really a god, but they say he is a spirit. According to them, there once were lots of *beliyan.*, both men and young women: Endilayag Belalà, Endilayag Kerakam, Lagey Bidek Keroon, Lagey Fegefaden, Lagey Lindib Lugatu, Lagey Titay Beliyan, Omolegu Ferendam, and yet many others. I cannot mention them all, for there are so many. But I will mention the names of the women: Kenogon Enggulon, Bonggo Solò Delemon, Kenogon Sembuyaya, Kenogon Dayafan, Bonggo Matir Atir, Kenogon Enggerayur — there are so many of them that I cannot mention them all.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The name means, literally, “ancient heirloom.”

<sup>36</sup> All the personal names in sections 17-19 are of characters in the Teduray epic chant, the Berinarew, which celebrates their being led up to the cosmic realm of Tulus by Lagey Lingkuwos.

20. All these various individuals are said to come to earth to visit the Teduray shamans, who are able to see them all and talk with them. Now what do you think of all the stories of the Teduray people? Do you ridicule them? Might they possibly be true?

#### **IV. Concerning a Variety of Superstitions and Charms**

21. I have still more to tell you concerning the foolish ways of the Teduray, about their silly beliefs. (There is no way to escape Damangias!) They have charms, which they call *lambus*<sup>37</sup> or *agimat*,<sup>38</sup> which they tie around their waist or arm, or hang around their neck. Some people wear them hanging from their ears, passing below their jaw. Others wear them wound all around their body; others on their back; others in their rings. When a tree seems strange to them, they will go and get a piece of it, and accord it some significance. It is the same with stones, various kinds of grasses, soil, rice, water, resin, oil, large sea shells and small ones, and flintstone. They also get charcoal or ashes. Similarly, they get the *lateng*<sup>39</sup> tree, and they collect attractive grasses, the *begongoh*<sup>40</sup> tree, cats, fish, chickens, birds, snakes, the moon, the stars, various bugs, and the sap of trees.

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37 *Lambus* is the term for any of several large-sized charms, frequently worn around the waist like a belt.

38 An *agimat* is an amulet or talisman, and is also the general term for protective charms.

39 *Lateng* is a type of tree, *Trema orientalis* (Linn.).

40 *Begongoh* is a medium-sized forest tree of undetermined species.

22. About all these Teduray charms<sup>41</sup> I have been mentioning, I will be very brief. The significance for them, they say, is that they are all "shields for the body." What do they call "shields for the body"? The various things I mentioned— their charms— which they believe keep sickness out of the body. That is why they get all those grasses.

23. Regarding water, its use is *kebel*.<sup>42</sup> What is *kebel*? Your skin gets thick and hard, and even if someone slashes you with a bolo, your skin will not be penetrated. Another Teduray charm I mentioned gives a cloak of invisibility. How is that? If you wish it so, your companion cannot see you. You put the leaf of a certain tree in your waist, in order not to be visible.

24. Another charm is a *falusud*. What is this that they call *falusud*? It changes a man's mind; if he did not previously like a certain woman, he will become attracted to her. Similarly a man can beguile the mind of a woman whom he loves, but who does not care for him.

25. I will now discuss what they get from the moon; it is the *faramanis*. What is the *faramanis*? It is a special beauty — a

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41 Sigayan's word here is *ketusen*. That is the general Teduray term for any sort of herb that is used as a medicine or charm. But, he uses it throughout these sections to mean "charm."

42 *Kebel* names an occult capacity to resist being wounded, for instance, being able to deflect the blades of striking weapons.

handsomeness of men and a beauty of women, which others, looking at them, see as like the beauty of the full moon.

26. How do they capture the beauty of the moon and stars? They utter a prayer. In addition, they put a little oil into a bowl, and then put an egg in that. According to them, they must do this when the moon is full. All who have done it will then get its beauty. This procedure must be done at night, when the moon is full and bright, and when the sky is cloudless. If the moon should become covered with a cloud during the recitation of the prayer, they cannot receive the full beauty. Now, what good is it to catch the moonlight? These people are laughable! They maintain that it makes both men and women beautiful, and they say that, with their beauty increased in this way, they will soon love each other.

27. Another one of their charms is a grass, which they use for *filiyos*. What is that? It is a charm which prevents us from being hit when someone stabs at us. Or, if someone shoots, he will miss. They say that, even if someone should knife us in the belly, it would miss its mark — and the blade would be deflected to one side or the other of our body.

28. Another of these charms is called a *fekimoy*. What is that? They use the word in this way: should someone attempt to stab us, he cannot slash us as he is paralyzed in striking position. I

mean that he cannot move, he cannot budge his arm, and he cannot speak.<sup>43</sup>

29. Another one of the charms they use is *felungkang*.<sup>44</sup> What does that mean? Even though someone is extremely angry at you, if you have the *felungkang*, he cannot turn his anger on you. Even though he is very angry, his anger will be removed.

30. Another charm is the *falimu*. What is that one? Its meaning to them is that, if you have this charm, no one that sees you will ever be unkind, but will always be good to you.

31. Still another charm is the *falulud tamuk*. What does that refer to? They say that if we have a *falulud*, we will collect all sorts of property and *tamuk*.<sup>45</sup> All such things will come to us, and will be

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43 The *fekimoy* is a kind of *kebel*, as discussed in section 23.

44 Sigayan (or, perhaps, Bennasar) gives the word as *felungkang*, which is the Maguindanaon spelling; the Teduray word is *ferungkang*.

45 *Tamuk* is the general term for a number of highly prized goods, obtained by trade, which are used for “security settlements” or legal fines. They include such things as krises, spears, fancy bolos, brass betel quid boxes of various sizes and shapes, several kinds of necklaces, Chinese porcelain jars and plates, gongs, sarongs, and — in the more acculturated places like Awang — horses and carabao working animals. See section 76 below. Note: the settlement of goods given from the man’s side to the woman’s side, in arranging and making a marriage, is usually called a “brideprice” by anthropologists. I avoid the term, however, when discussing the traditional Teduray, because it suggests a false impression that the bride is being bought and sold, which is not how they see it at all. It is better conceptualized as a “security settlement,” to discourage an undesired break-up of the marriage. If that happens, the security settlement must be returned to the groom’s kindred. I, therefore, gloss it as a “security settlement,” rather than a “brideprice.” By “man’s side,” I mean his “kindred.” A Teduray’s kindred consists of all direct descendants from one’s great grandfather. Marriages are made by negotiation between the two involved kindreds, and marriages are forbidden, as incest, within a kindred. It is the kindreds, also, who are held responsible in legal adjudications concerning interpersonal offenses.

easy to find. Even if we do not find them, and even if we do not have the means to get them, still they will come to us.

32. Another of their charms is the “*ungit*<sup>46</sup> of the dog.” What is an “*ungit* of the dog”? It is a *dukah*<sup>47</sup> — the sap of a tree, which they burn and have their dogs smell, so that they will bite wild pigs and deer.

33. Well, these herbs and various other kinds of *agimat* are the charms of the Teduray. They believe in them all, and they are effective. If not, they utter a prayer facing Tulus, or cast some spell, to make them become effective.

34. Another one is what they call a *bengat*.<sup>48</sup> What is it? It is like a poisonous spell you cast upon a field you have planted. If anyone who steals from that field should eat what he stole, his stomach will burst.

35. The most terrible of the charms and prayers they say they believe in — one which they say is very effective — is what they call a *lambus*. Various grasses, bones, and stones are wrapped and sewn into little cloth bags, which are used for *ramut*.<sup>49</sup> What

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46 An *ungit* is a charm that is used in fishing and hunting, particularly with dogs.

47 *Dukah* is the general name for several kinds of charms that are made from tree sap. Often, their use involves burning the charm to release a sort of incense.

48 The *bengat* today are typically small signs, inscribed with a Maguindanaon curse. Teduray say it is not native to them, but borrowed from the local Muslims.

49 *Ramut* names various objects with the occult power either to inflict sickness or death on someone else, or to protect their owner against the *ramut* of another person.



is that? It is something that the Teduray believe will kill someone you hate, or make him sick. According to them, if a person says to his *lambus* or his *ramut*, "Go kill that one, over there," he will die.

36. Another of their charms is what they call the *bolbol*.<sup>50</sup> What are *bolbol*? They are what the Teduray call people among them whose bodies can fly during the night. Why do they set off to fly around in groups at night? What is their purpose in doing that? They say it is because they like to eat the bodies of their fellow men who have died. Moreover, if the *bolbol* hates someone he goes and spears him, but the wound is invisible. The person who was speared thinks that he is merely sick, but that is not true. Someone who knows how to heal the sick will reveal that the person was actually stabbed by a *bolbol*.

Such healers are able to treat any kind of sickness. What are their medicines? Some herbs, which they apply to the painful spot on the sick person, or, similarly, they use betel quid. The truly laughable thing is that, while he is touching the sick person, he is murmuring something.

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50 The Teduray text says, "Another of their *ketusen*..." — a curious statement, because a *bolbol* is certainly not a charm, but a kind of flying witch, a human who has been initiated into a superhuman fraternity, whose soul is believed to be able to fly, and in some cases eat the livers of sick people. There are two kinds of *bolbol*, evil ones and good ones, the latter being ready to protect sick relatives by persuading the bad, cannibalistic *bolbol* not to eat their livers. Thus, although the bad *bolbol* is greatly feared, every family is pleased to have a good one among their number. See section 103.

37. The Teduray have still another superstitious custom. They place in front of their house four — or, sometimes, two — *rangà*,<sup>51</sup> which they use to offer betel quid to Tulus. Their hope is that Tulus will return their kindness, and, thereby, the various sicknesses will not come near them.

38. They say that there is another charm of these people, which they know about and believe in; they call it an *alamat*. What is it? It is only a fantasy in their minds! They think there are among them people who are able to see the future, and know what is coming, what will happen to them? Should they be about to die, they will be aware of the fact. Whatever evil should be coming to them, they will know about it in advance, and be forewarned. Also, should someone hate them, they will be aware of the plans of their enemy. Thus, for example, if they suspect that something will happen to them along their way, they will not set forth.

39. Another charm, is what they call a *sakabat*.<sup>52</sup> What is that which they call this? Even if someone is far away from somebody who would do him wrong, he will hear about it — if he has a *sakabat*.

40. There is also a superstition among these Teduray about knowing signs of their coming fate — whether it will be good — and of what will happen to them. How do they do it? They can

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<sup>51</sup> See section 24.

<sup>52</sup> The *sakabat* is a charm which enables its owner to know of any gossip concerning her or him.

see, in the lines on the palm of someone's hand, what will happen to that person — whether good will come or bad, whether he will get *tamuk* or not, whether he will be very poor or very rich, very foolish or very wise. Everything! They can tell it all from one's palm lines. Similarly, they say that they will know whether they are to die by sickness, or by stabbing, or by some other cause of death. They say they are able to know everything by means of those lines.

41. Moreover, beyond reading their palms, there is yet another way of telling one's fortune. They measure their bodies.<sup>53</sup> By doing this, one learns about one's fate, and about the character of one's companion — whether he is wise or foolhardy — and what the future will bring him.

42. I still need to inform you of another way Teduray have of telling the future, a way in which they also place great faith. They consult and heed signs whenever they are going anywhere, or need to undertake some task. What signs? Here, I will tell you. If someone has a trip to make, and he sneezes; he will not go. He will just rest. Because, it is said, if he insists on proceeding, he will have an accident, or something bad will happen to him. It is the same if the house lizard<sup>54</sup> is heard singing, or if anything in the

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53 I was unable to find anyone, Teduray or Maguindanaon, who knew of this custom, or who could clarify what was being referred to as “measuring” someone’s body.

54 *Terektek* are the common tropical house lizard, *Hemidactylus frenatus* (Demerol and Bibron).

house breaks, when people are planning to go somewhere; they will not proceed. They will not do anything.

It is the same when they hear the call of the bird they call the *lemugen*.<sup>55</sup> Even if they are already along their way, if the the bird calls from a bad direction, they go back. They will not proceed. (I am telling you, they really believe this!) And — according to them — there is also a good *lemugen* call. To interpret the omen, they point to the direction the bird call comes from. Here! I will tell you how they do that. If the dove calls from behind them — that is, from a branch at their back — they will not proceed. If the bird's call is directly in front of them, then all the more they will not go any farther, for they say that the *lemugen* is stopping them. They name these calls the *rigara sunur*. There are also good omens — noting other directions of the call of this bird, but I will not continue and finish telling about them. They really do find meaning in the direction the sound comes from.<sup>56</sup> This same bird has another call, which they hear as telling a truth. They call it the *gerung*. If the bird makes this call when one is doing something, it means that there will surely be a serious mishap, if he insists on continuing.

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55 The *lemogen* is a medium-sized forest bird, *Phapitreron leucotis* (Temminck).

56 Sigayan's description of the good and bad directions of the bird's call does not jibe with the Teduray usage, as I know it from the Figel area in the rainforest, where I lived for two years doing my research. There — and I believe more generally — the call is a good omen if it comes from straight ahead of the hearer, or from either 45 degrees to the right or to the left, or from directly overhead. All other directions are understood as bad omens.

43. I am going to stop here telling about all the omens of the Teduray. I will not finish them all, because there are too many — more than what I have described! Do you suppose you could even count all those that are not mentioned yet? But, you will learn about the rest, as you are able to be among the people.

## **V. Concerning Their Clothes, Weapons, and Adornment**

44. I am astonished at all the things that I am telling you about the Teduray! I will now inform you of the way these people dress. They are very poor. They have different styles of dress. The men have three different ones. Those called “downstream people”<sup>57</sup> all imitate the dress of the Maguindanaon: their trousers are long, their shirt style is called *sinina* and *bagingubala*, which mean just down to their waist. On their heads, they wear a bandanna, tied with one corner sticking up. Their hair is long, not cut. Both men and women wear their hair the same way — long. Around their waist, they wear an *angkul*. What is an *angkul*? It is a cloth that is red, or possibly spotted. And they also attach a handkerchief to their waist. These are the charms I was telling you about before, which they attach to their body. They put a handkerchief over

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57 The “downstream people” are Sigayan’s fellow Awang Teduray. Teduray divide the people into three loose subgroups: the *etew rotor*, “upper” or “mountain people,” who live in the interior hills and rainforest; the *etew dawa*, “downstream people,” who live in the environs of the Pulangi River and its tributaries, at the northern foot of the mountains, including Awang, also called *etew inged*, roughly “town people,” or *etew awang*, “Awang people”); and the *etew dogot*, “seacoast people,” who live along the coast from the mouth of the Pulangi to the Tran Grande River. Often, those who live along the Tran Grande are called *etew teran*, “Tran people.”

their shoulders and secure another one to the bandanna on their head.<sup>58</sup> Such are their clothes.

For beauty, they file their teeth, and make them black by burning a coconut shell. While it is burning, they touch it to the blade of an old bolo, and the soot which adheres to the bolo blade is what they call *fengileb*. Should their teeth break off, they make wooden or brass "teeth."

45. Now here is what they do to their face. They shave the hair on their forehead and their eyebrows, and this makes them feel stylish. They trim the tips of their eyelashes.<sup>59</sup> For other adornment, both men and women melt wax in oil, and then apply it to their lips, so they will seem soft. They rub it on their eyebrows, as well, to give their eyes a tantalizing appearance when they look at someone.

46. Here are their weapons: a kris, carried at one's side; a spear, held like a walking stick; a *figoto*,<sup>60</sup> carried over one's shoulder; and a dagger, worn at the waist. They also have a rounded shield, called a *taming*, and an elongated shield called a *kelung*.

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<sup>58</sup> Whatever this practice once was, it is unknown today.

<sup>59</sup> They trim their eyelashes to a straight edge.

<sup>60</sup> A *fegoto* is a kind of wide-bladed kris.

47. In the case of the men from the mountains,<sup>61</sup> here is their manner of dress. They wear short trousers. I have never seen even one of them wearing long trousers like the downstream people — even though they are all Teduray. The cut of their shirt is the same. These mountain people are careless in their dress. As long as they have covered their body, that is enough for them; they are quite unlike the downstream people, who are very particular. They also wear a bandanna on their head, but they lack clothing, compared to the downstream people.

Their weapons are: kris, spear, and bow and arrow. The latter inflicts a terrible death, because they put poison on the arrows.

48. Regarding the men from along the coast, they wear a G-string instead of trousers. A few wear trousers, but not many; most wear the G-string. Their shirts have the same cut as those of the others, except that the coastal men have one difference — their shirts are sewn inside-out. They, too, wear a bandanna, but they fold it and tie it around their head, for, like women, they wear their hair long and knotted into a bun. Moreover, they use *kensal*, as do the women. What is *kensal*? It is when they pinch their facial skin to cause blood-blisters — another part of their beautification. What do I mean by “beautification”? Things that improve their body in their eyes, in order to enhance their public appearance. They wear brass rings around their ankles, and some

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<sup>61</sup> The Awang Teduray, like the Maguindanaon, tend to look down on all of the others as rude hicks.

also wear them around their knees. These are, however, unlike the women's anklets, which are very loose. Men's are quite tight around their ankles and knees.

49. They have something else, which they never forget when they go out. They always carry a buri<sup>62</sup> bag. You inquire what they are for. They all chew betel, and use the bags to carry their betel-chewing needs.<sup>63</sup>

50. Their weapons are as follows: a *benongen* — which is a wide-bladed kris, like a *fegoto*, only a bit smaller — and a spear. Moreover, they all have a bow and arrow, even the children. The arrows are dipped in *kemendag*. Now, what is that? It is the poisonous sap of a tree. If even a little should enter a wound, it is fatal. They say it is for fighting.<sup>64</sup>

I will turn again to relating how Teduray women dress. They wear a sarong, woven and sewn with abaca fibers. Their blouse has the same general cut as that of the men, except that the women's blouse is form-fitting, whereas the men's is quite loose. Therefore, their breasts can easily be recognized, for the blouse is tight and the bulging very clear.

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62 Buri is a large tropical fan-palm of the Arecaceae family, the fronds of which are cut into strips, dried in the sun, dyed to desired colors, then hand-woven into baskets, carrying bags, and other useful products.

63 Those “needs” are the nut of the Areca palm, the leaf of the betel palm, tobacco leaf, and lime. All traditional Teduray chew, but the Awang people use brass betel boxes, obtained in trade from the Maguindanaon, that they keep in their houses or carry in a pocket.

64 Fighting is not a part of traditional Teduray culture, except for the Awang people. Poisonous sap is mainly used by Teduray on their hunting arrows, to assist in bringing down such game as monkeys and large birds.



51. There are other things women wear. On both wrists, they sport bracelets,<sup>65</sup> and every finger is full of rings. They also wear a brass and cord belt, decorated with small jingle bells, and bells on their wrists. On their ankles, they wear brass anklet rings. They wear various necklaces of glass beads and colored crystals, and the *kemagi*, which is a necklace of gold. The edges of their ears are lined with little holes, in which they wear wire earrings, with suspending small shell ornaments. In each ear lobe they make a large hole — you could put your big toe through it — in which, they wear large earrings, connected by a decoration that passes underneath the chin.

52. With regard to other beautifications of the body, they cut their hair to short bangs at the forehead, where they press in order to make decorative blood blisters. They shave the edge of their eyebrows to thin them, and they cut their eyelashes, making them straight.

53. Here is the way these people fix their hair — they wash it with grated coconut, then use a comb made of bamboo.<sup>66</sup> Women's combs are all decorated differently, and they wear them in their hair.

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<sup>65</sup> These are a set of brass bracelets of increasing size, that are worn from the wrist to about 20 cm. up the arm. The custom of wearing them has largely fallen into disuse, and they are now seen only rarely.

<sup>66</sup> Sigayan specifies the variety of bamboo used as *belotokan*, *Bambusa spinosa* Roxb.

54. One thing about their women: you will never see even a single one without a knife. Every woman will have a knife, if she is going some where. Also, every Teduray woman has a small basket, which she takes whenever she goes out.

55. Now, I forgot to tell you something about the people from along the coast. Their men — all of them— enlarge the holes in their ears and wear large pendulous ear hangings.<sup>67</sup>

56. All Teduray women, and some of the men, wear *sayaf* on their heads,<sup>68</sup> Should you ask what they are made of, it is buri.

57. There are some things I forgot to mention, about the way the Teduray women wear their sarongs. They have *saket*, which they tuck into the upper edge of the sarong, and wear around their waist. If you ask me what it is that they call *saket*, it is the roots of the *buruk* grass.<sup>69</sup> If you further inquire why they do that, it actually has no significance. They merely do it, so that, when someone sees them, they will seem attractive, with broadened hips, a small waist, and a pleasant odor.

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67 This practice has now entirely died out, but Bennasar comments in a footnote that anyone who has contact with the Teduray will note the effeminate character of the coastal men, and their desire to wear female jewelry.

68 The *sayaf* is a shallow, conical sun hat.

69 *Buruk* is vetiver, *Andropogon zizanoides* (Linn.).

Moreover, I will tell you, regarding these women, that they place their charms into their *saket* around their waist, and the men do the same thing. They also use them as bracelets and necklaces.

I forgot to mention something about both men and women. They have charms that they eat, which are a whole different set from the others.<sup>70</sup>

## VI. Concerning Killings and the Causes that Motivate Them

58. I have already told my readers about the weapons of the Teduray. I will now discuss whether they are brave or cowardly, and describe their way of fighting. Their customary way is *lemifut*.<sup>71</sup> Why is it that they murder? Is it because there is a long-standing grudge? No! *Kengasa ro fo*.<sup>72</sup>

When they see somebody having many belongings or lots of *tamuk*, or if they arrive at his house and he has no companions — or, even if there are many there, but they feel them to be weak —

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70 There are many such charms, including forest products which are used as contraceptives, abortifacients, and aphrodisiacs.

71 *Lemufut* means “to murder,” often by going in a group against a single individual, or by killing from ambush. It is considered highly immoral, and contrasts sharply with killing in revenge of one’s honor, which is also wrong, but thought to be completely understandable.

72 *Kengasa ro fo* may be roughly translated as, “It is their portent of death!” The phrase seems to make no sense here. Bennasar’s Spanish rendering is *por pura malicia*, “for pure malice,” which makes sense in the context, but bears no resemblance to the Teduray phrase. In any case, such behavior is utterly anathema among all Teduray, except the Awang people. They alone value and share in the Maguindanaon use of violence.

they will kill in order to get that *tamuk*.<sup>73</sup> If there are lots of other belongings, the murderers are all the more delighted .

59. Now, I will tell all who are reading this writing about the Teduray, that among themselves the Teduray seldom truly *lemifut*. Seldom only, for it is not their true custom to fight among themselves, except that they will do so, if someone has done them an offense. When they really go in for killing is when troublesome Maguindanaon come up to the Teduray areas. If the Teduray see them, and see they have *tamuk*, they are apt to murder them. Besides, they hate them.

You ask, why do they hate them so? Because some Maguindanaon go too far, in their behavior towards the Teduray. What is it that the Maguindanaon do, that is going too far? Listen, I will tell you. They demand tribute. They give the Teduray a large bag, and make them fill it with rice,<sup>74</sup> or they mark some Teduray's rice field, and demand from him all grown within the marks. When they get rice — or anything else — in the mountains of the Teduray, they make them carry it down to the Maguindanaon's home place.<sup>75</sup>

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73 If Sigayan is referring to Teduray here, what he reports is simply not the case. The text is unclear, however, as to whom he means. Later, he refers such behavior to the Maguindanaon, and it seems most likely that he is already speaking of them in this paragraph. Apparently, Bennasar raised the same question, as the following section greatly clarifies the situation.

74 The word used here is *farey*, which is paddy rice, not yet threshed.

75 This sort of Maguindanaon behavior was much more common toward the more isolated mountain and coastal Teduray, Manobo, and Bilaan settlements, than in the Awang area. Bennasar attributes this to Christian missionary influence, but it was doubtless due, at least in part, to the longstanding close relationship between the

60. They do other things to the Teduray. If they see them — if the Teduray allow the Maguindanaon to see them — eating pork, they impose a fine. Teduray are afraid of the Maguindanaon, and if fined, they give it. They give *tamuk*, just for eating pork, if they are seen by the Maguindanaon.<sup>76</sup>

Why is it that they are afraid of the Maguindanaon? Because they are so few in number perhaps? How few are they? Are the Teduray people not numerous? Or, are they simply afraid? Are they not men? Neither. It is not that they are not numerous; they are quite plentiful. And it is not that they are afraid; they know they are manly. But, what can the Teduray people do? As I told you before, in the mountains their houses are not grouped but separated, far from each other. The men are in twos or threes. So, when the Maguindanaon arrive, and see the two men, even if the two are full of anger, they cannot resist, because the Maguindanaon number five or ten. Whatever the Maguindanaon want, they will just go along with them. So, the wicked Maguindanaon, seeing the Teduray are not in force, but are merely a single isolated household, assume they will offer no resistance. They are seized, enslaved, and sold. That is why the Teduray abhor them. Such bad treatment contributes to the

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Awang Teduray and the Maguindanaon.

76 Being Muslim, the Maguindanaon consider pork meat to be unclean, and are forbidden to eat it. Teduray, however, not being of that religious tradition, have no objection to eating pork and value it highly as a part of their diet. They raise domestic pigs, and hunt for wild pigs in the forest.

Teduray's killing of the Maguindanaon — at least to part of it. But there is still another cause of the Teduray's killing them treacherously — their *tamuk*!

61. I will now continue telling you the Teduray customs in fighting — whether they are brave or cowardly. I want you to see that they are neither cowardly, nor brave— they are in between. They are a prudent people.

62. The way they kill someone with whom they are angry, or against whom they have a grudge, is this — they go after revenge. How do they do that? When it is still daytime, they set out hiking to the place of the one they hate. Then, when they are at the place of the one they hate, and it is night, they come out. They shoot him with their arrows, or they may spear him as he sleeps. The avengers hide and do not want to be seen, for they do their killing by stealth. Once they have killed, they move away a bit — but they do not run home. They stay near the place of the one they have stabbed, to make sure, from the sounds in the house, whether the man died or not. When they hear someone shout out, "Who stabbed?" still being close by, they will reply, "We did; we came to settle the *tamuk*, because we did not receive what we were entitled to."<sup>77</sup> That is the boastful reply of the avengers. Then, the killers go home, for they are satisfied.

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<sup>77</sup> The reference to *tamuk* strongly implies that the revenge killing described is in connection to a security settlement violation, in which *tamuk* should have been returned, but was not. Schlegel (1970) gives an extended description of the Teduray legal system; on this point, see particularly pp. 119-151.

Once they are on their way home, and far from the scene of their revenge, they sing their *kerensiyow*.<sup>78</sup> What is that? They sing for their victim, so that Moferow<sup>79</sup> will open his window, look down to earth, and open his door to allow the soul of that fellow to enter his realm, is the destination of stabbed persons. The purpose, they say, of their singing is to send the spirit of that person they stabbed to the appropriate place of departed souls. Also, they say, another significance of their singing is that, even if they have stabbed someone, they have no fault, so long as they send his soul to the proper place. The fault for what they have done is gone, removed by their singing of that *kerensiyow*.<sup>80</sup>

63. Having told you about the customs of these people when they kill, I will now also tell you the causes of their fighting each other. They are: stabbing, using sorcery, a wife's adultery, stealing, parental interference when children quarrel, teasing which goes too far, mockery, and farm work.

64. That is enough about the bravery of the Teduray. Here I will tell my reader of another of their customs. It is very different and frightening — a bad thing to imitate. I think that no Christian

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78 The *kerensiyow* is a victory song, sung after a successful raid for blood revenge.

79 Teduray believe that the souls of the dead reside in different places, according to their manner of death. Moferow is another name of the *segoyong sefebenal*, the spirit in Teduray cosmology who presides over the place of souls who died violently over matters of honor.

80 This does not mean that the fault referred to here is gone, as the killers are still morally and legally responsible for their action. But, it shows what they did to be, at least, very understandable,

person would do it. Why? What is this custom? Do you think it is a good one? It is frightening. Even if you only hear about it, it is painful. How much more so, if you see it! So, what is it?

They inform someone that they intend to drink a poison, from a vine that they call *tebeli*.<sup>81</sup> They commit suicide, in order to die. Sometimes, they do this by jumping into deep water. They may cut their own throats. They have a variety of ways to commit suicide.

Among Teduray, the ones you always hear about committing suicide are the maidens and young men. Few married people kill themselves. You ask me why the maidens and young men would commit suicide? If someone addresses them with obscenities, or, if their name should come out in scandal, they will really kill themselves, unless they can proceed at once to marry. They are deeply humiliated by such things, if they are still young and unmarried, and they do not want to talk about them.

Long ago, when the Teduray were still unchanged, one who was still a maiden did not want to go near any man. And, it was the same for a young man; do you think he would approach a

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<sup>81</sup> *Tebeli* is a poisonous plant, *Derris elliptica* (Roxb.) Benth., the roots of which are used to poison fish. The statement is curious, however, because in Teduray custom — at least as I know it from Figel — those intending to kill themselves never inform anyone beforehand. Perhaps the text is in error, and should have read, “They never go to inform anyone that...” but Bennasar translates it just as given.



maiden?<sup>82</sup> But now, no more — the Teduray have changed! Before, the maidens could only be near a man if they were already married. And a young man would only draw near to a woman if they were married. Not the Teduray of today. Even those who are still small are already acquainted with evil.

## VII. Concerning Their Marriages

65. I will also tell you about the Teduray customs for arranging a marriage. They are like this: if you have a son, and you feel that you have ample *tamuk*, to arrange a marriage, you go to the house of a man who has a young daughter, and the two of you discuss the matter. This is because they do not want their daughter to marry a man who has no *tamuk*. You ask me what *tamuk* is for — it is used for the security settlement. If we compare it to buying and selling, it is what the man uses to buy the woman. But it is not really buying; the woman does not become their slave.

Once they are married, the couple stays with the elders of her husband.

I would say they have a very different way of marrying. Here is how a young man marries a maiden. Among the Teduray, the custom is that the boy's father finds a girl for his son. The young

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82 The word used for “man” here is *senangkadan*. It is quite rare, and may be an old Awang term for bachelor, or, possibly, a euphemism for penis.

man and woman, however, do not know that they are to be married. If they are not carefully watched, they will commit suicide from shame,<sup>83</sup> as their names have not yet been announced as about to wed.<sup>84</sup> So, their parents discuss their plans privately; the girl and the boy do not suspect a thing. They only learn about it later, when they are officially informed. Such is their custom regarding marriage. The boy may not even like the girl, but they will still be married, because they will be forced to do so by their elders. In Teduray custom, very few actually court each other.

Therefore, if there is no way to warm the couple's hearts toward each other — if they really cannot care for each other — they will substitute a close relative of the same generation for the one who cannot come to care. If both the man and the woman cannot learn to care, both are replaced. Their custom in marrying is very hard! If it is the man who does not care for his wife, the truth is

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83 The Teduray word for “shame” is *mala*, which has the connotation of embarrassment, running all the way from mild to extreme discomfort. While a person may say she is *mala* about some trivial social gaffe, the fact is that putting someone to shame is seen as a heavy, and even dangerous, offense against that person. If public exposure to a socially or psychologically untenable situation is serious enough, the shamed person might well consider suicide or revenge. I once saw a situation where a teenaged Teduray student, in the high school classroom of an unwitting American teaching sister, was scolded for not doing his homework. The teacher said, “Shame on you!” in front of the whole class, intending only to encourage him to be more diligent. He immediately ran home, and took to his bed for four full days, refusing even to eat. The sister could not comprehend why he was upset, and had so “greatly overreacted,” but he thought of her as unspeakably cruel. She simply had no idea the terrible power of the word — and idea — of shame in Teduray culture.

84 The text of this sentence is obscure. Presumably, the implication is that the couple would be mortally ashamed, if they were to learn of the plans for their marriage, prior to the announcement the night before.

that he must simply surrender his security settlement; he can no longer get it back. In such a situation, it is the fault of the man, not the girl. So, if there is no close relative of his, to be set forth in his place as husband to the woman, the security settlement will be forfeited.

66. I will now return to what I was telling you earlier about the young people being informed that they are to be married. By custom, the man and the woman are always informed after it is dark, never in the daytime. They announce it to the man, in the house of his legal sage (*kefeduwan*).<sup>85</sup> If the bachelor who is to be married should ask why so many people have gathered, they will tell him that it is for some other reason. The various legal specialists present are said to be formally discussing many other things, not the wedding. The fellow does not wake up to what is happening until one legal sage says, "You, Sigayan; they have found a girl for you, a woman of Kafiton. The name of that girl is Ambug."<sup>86</sup> So I — having been told that I am about to marry —

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85 The *kefeduwan* is the Teduray legal specialist, who may be either a man or a woman. I usually gloss the word as "legal sage" or "legal authority." The traditional Teduray legal system is involved in the making and dissolving of marriages, as a major aspect of preventing violence and feuding, which is its primary goal. Central to Teduray life, culture, and daily life is every person's *fedew*, which literally means gall bladder, but is held to be the locus of emotions, thoughts, plans, hopes, and the like (similar to the Western metaphorical notion of "heart," as in "broken hearted" or "stout hearted"). They believe that human nature is such that, if one's gall bladder is willfully hurt by another person, the offended individual will want to become violent, and seek blood revenge. To do so, however understandable, is nonetheless wrong, and the proper response is to turn the case over to the legal sages to adjudicate and settle through the imposition of an appropriate fine.

86 Sigayan is the Teduray name of the author; José Tenorio is his Christian baptismal name. The woman, Ambug, of the village of Kafiton, which he uses as an example, is said by Bennasar in a footnote to have been a real person, but, curiously, not Sigayan's wife.

begin to struggle. If no one holds me, I might strike someone, as I have been put to such shame (as Teduray see it). But, it does not last long — not even long enough for someone to cook a shrimp!<sup>87</sup>

67. The struggling was, actually, just to observe the customs, for I liked that girl from the village. I did it because I was all alone in being mentioned, among all the people present. When I got tired, I stopped. After all — just imagine — sometimes five to seven men are holding you! When I stopped struggling, I was in tears, so they blew ginger into my ear. My anger came to an end while I was struggling; I was securely bound, and it was just too difficult to keep straining. While I was crying, they shouted at me, in the traditional way for such times.<sup>88</sup> One of the women calls out, then everyone joins in, and shouts along with her. That is the way, in Teduray wedding customs.

68. With regard to the woman to whom they will wed me, they formally announce her groom's name to her the same night. Should my reader ask me what women customarily do when they receive the announcement, they also cry, for they, too, are humiliated that it was spoken out among so many people that they were to be married.

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<sup>87</sup> This is one of many common Teduray expressions signifying a certain period of time.

<sup>88</sup> The traditional wedding cheer, given at several points during the marriage rituals, is "*U, u, efri.*"

69. I will now return to informing you about the man, and what happens once the announcement is finished. This usually occurs at night time. The following morning, the groom's kindred<sup>89</sup> goes with him to the place of the girl. Since the groom has been unhappy, ever since his name was announced, he keeps his head shrouded within his sarong.<sup>90</sup> He never opens it, to permit his face to be seen. You would have to force him, to look at his face, even when he is being dressed. He does not dress himself; that is the work of the other young men. Once they start to go, they have to drag the groom along — like a *wahwah*<sup>91</sup> with a broken leg! Not really wanting to go, he walks along very slowly. So, several fellows walk along with him, side by side, surrounding him.

Along the way, they play gongs until they reach the place of the girl's kindred. Also, all along the way, they continue to shout the traditional wedding cry at the groom. As I mentioned before, when one shouts this to the groom, others also join in shouting — and they do this, right up to the place of the girl's side.

When they draw near to their destination, here is what they do with the groom. They place a *dudum*<sup>92</sup> over him, made with a

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89 This refers to a delegation of his key kinsmen, not his entire kindred.

90 Women use the sarong as their normal skirt, and both men and women use it as a blanket at night. In the cool of early morning, they like to drape a sarong over their heads for warmth, and this is the way the groom is here described as wearing it.

91 The *wahwah* is a kind of bird, *Pitta steerei* (Sharpe).

92 The *dudum* is a cloth canopy, held up at the four corners by poles.

length of cloth. And everyone in the group helps the groom take cover inside of it.

70. It is mid-afternoon when they arrive at the settlement of the girl's people. But, once they are there, do you think they can immediately enter? No, not yet! At the boundary of the clearing, an *alang* will have been erected — a barrier made of wooden posts, stuck in on both sides of the trail, with something important tied across them. If a kris or a *fegoto* is not placed there, the groom is not permitted to proceed. Only when there is a kris, for them to use in cutting the girl's kindred's fence, may they go on.<sup>93</sup>

They are then all grouped there in the clearing; they do not immediately go up into the house.

Now, I want to return to the way in which the man's side arrives at the girl's settlement. Why is there an *alang* there? It how they ask for some of the security settlement from the man's side at that time. When they meet, it will be the first one to be given.

71. I will now continue the account of the man's kindred in the clearing. Why did they not immediately go up into the house? Because it is their custom that the bride's side will first bring

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<sup>93</sup> *Alang* is the general word for any barrier, not just this ritualized one. A kris, or some other suitable item of *tamuk*, must be given upon reaching it, by the kindred of the groom to that of the bride, a part of the previously agreed-upon security settlement. It is said, to be “for them to use in cutting the fence.”

them betel to chew in the clearing, and, since some might be thirsty, they will also bring water.

Why, beyond that, should they tarry? Because they have something to do. They are first going to dance. The owner of the house — one of the girl's kindred — will perform the *keilawan* dance.<sup>94</sup> The men dance first, to the music of a drum<sup>95</sup> holding a drawn wide-bladed kris in their right hand, and a decorated shield in their left hand. As to their dress while dancing, they wear a sarong— not in the fashion of women, but rather *simful*.<sup>96</sup> Handkerchiefs are tied around both biceps, and another handkerchief is fastened around their sarong like a belt.

72. When the bride's side has finished dancing, the men of the groom's kindred dance, in the same manner as the others. When they are through, the women have their turn. They also dance to the music of the drum, played along with a pair of gongs to the melody known as “Tebagen.”<sup>97</sup> You will really enjoy their performance— the drum, the gongs, and especially the sound of the women's movements with their ankle rings and little bells.

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94 *Keilawan* is the ordinary word for a human being, so this is literally the “human dance.” A form of war dance, Bennasar states in a footnote that it was popularly known as the “Moro-Moro Dance, so the Teduray probably copied it from the Maguindanaon.

95 The *togò tefuken*; see footnote to section 14.

96 At least as the word is used today, *simful* is not quite appropriate here. *Simful* means the sarong is wrapped G-string style around a man's waist. In dancing, men do not now wear it this way, but rather sarong-style over their trousers, extending down only to their knees. This is termed *mentawih*, not *simful*.

97 Instead of the customary five gongs played by five persons (called *sesimfal*), in *Tebagen* a single individual plays on two gongs.

73. As to their dress for dancing, the women wear a colorful, folded sarong crosswise over one shoulder, and a handkerchief on both shoulders.

When their dancing is finished in late afternoon, the man's group prepares to go up into the house. Throughout the dancing, the groom was under his canopy. No one on the woman's side can look at him. They will only see him in the morning, when the wedding ritual occurs. Up to that moment, they cannot.

74. I will now relate what they do, when they are about to go up to the house. They shout the traditional wedding cry to the groom. Then, the owner of the house also shouts it to their bride, secluded in her *sibey*.<sup>98</sup> They shout it twice to each of them.

Only when all this is finished do they enter the house. Legal sages of the woman's side say, "Come up," and those on the men's side reply, "Good." So, now everyone is actually up in the house.

What do they all do, once they are there? Nothing yet. They merely rest a bit, while the groom is enclosed in a little room, prepared for this occasion.<sup>99</sup> Can you can look at him now? You

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<sup>98</sup> The bride is secluded at this time in a special room, or screened-off part of a room, called a *sibey*, which has been set aside within the house for this purpose. A *sibey* is not only used for the bride at weddings, but more generally as the sleeping place for unmarried girls.

<sup>99</sup> This is rigged on the spot, by hanging several sarongs, so as to hide the groom from sight.



cannot! It is the same with the bride. You cannot see her, for they have her in the *sibey*.

75. At this point, I will tell readers of what I have written here that I am not continuing, at this point, with the activities of those who have gone up into the house. Rather, I will go back, and relate what the girl's kindred does when their daughter's hand has been asked in marriage.

If they consent to the marriage, they first construct a huge house, big enough to hold 200 persons when the wedding takes place. Once that is finished, they hurry their preparations.

Once they have finished the house, they prepare the things needed for cooking — rice, coconut, salt, and spices. They will cook all of this to give to the man's side. With regard to their preparation of food, if, for instance, the wedding is to be tomorrow, they would cook throughout that night. Suppose, knowing that they have no plates, you ask them where they plan to put the food. Well, even if they have enough plates, it is their custom to wrap the cooked rice in banana leaves, and put the bundles into baskets. They fill the baskets up, often more than 100 of them. They also make ready some large earthen pots.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Called *singà*, these pots are where they cook the side dishes, usually chicken, to accompany rice for the wedding feast.

I mentioned that they had earlier readied numerous baskets of bundled rice. They make an equal number of bamboo tubes filled with chicken broth. To prepare the chicken, they cook it whole in the pots. Do you imagine that they first cut up the chicken? No. It would not be proper to cut it into smaller pieces, because the man's kindred might think that the woman's side was not cooking the entire chicken. The proper package is one whole chicken for each basket of rice. Thus, it is the custom that, if one of the chicken's wings is missing from the basket, the woman's side must give the man's side a kris. It is the same with the chicken's neck; if it is missing the woman's kindred must surrender one spear.

76. Now I will go back to what I was telling you before, concerning the groom's going up into the house. After they have rested a while, the legal sages on the man's side get all the baskets prepared by the girl's side. Everyone in the groom's party is given a basket, since they are the ones who helped in giving the security settlement.

After they have finished eating, they all spend the night there in the house. They wait for the morning, when they will wed the couple. All through the night, the legal specialists talk together in a *tiyawan*.<sup>101</sup> Some of the young men also converse with each

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<sup>101</sup> *Tiyawan* are the formal adjudicatory discussions of the legal specialists. I gloss the word as "legal sessions." They are conducted in a highly metaphorical and roundabout rhetoric, not usually understandable to others, and the ability to do that is the fundamental requirement for a man or woman to become a legal authority.

other, by means of singing alternately, one after the other. What are they singing about? Is it addressed to Tulus? No, their singing does not concern Tulus. They are merely competing with each other in telling stories with hidden meanings. They are singing about all sorts of good things — or it may actually turn to bad things. They may put anything they have heard into the songs, and one who knows this skill will be able to understand the message of the other singer, whether it is good or bad. It may be just this which drew some fellows to the wedding — to seek out those who know how to do such singing. When one who knows how hears another sing, he answers it; for he gets the meaning.

I will tell anyone reading this — in case you are wondering — why it is the custom of these people, when they talk about things, to do it by this sort of antiphonal singing. It is because the singers are delighted, when many listen to them. Not everyone knows how to do that.

77. We will now leave the subject of singing; it is their custom, and what they do the whole night at weddings. Moreover, even if it is not a wedding, whenever those who know how to sing this way meet each other in their houses, they sing together.

78. When daybreak has come, all those who went to eat chicken<sup>102</sup> give their *tamuk* to their legal specialists to be given, for this is the day it is turned over to the woman's kindred. When

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102 "...those who went to eat chicken" means the groom's people.

everyone who went to eat chicken has put down his contribution, That is the moment when all who have come to eat chicken hand over their contribution.<sup>103</sup>

They say that, if the girl is beautiful, they will give 400 plates, plus five other pieces of *tamuk* as the security settlement. But they say that when the girl is homely, or has an ugly appearance, the security settlement is diminished. from the homely down to the ugly. From four items, according to them, for a homely girl, down to three, to two, or even just to one — as the security settlement for an ugly one!<sup>104</sup>

What are the items that these people give? Pay heed, and I will tell you. Plates, handkerchiefs, bandannas, blouses, trousers, waistbands, brass anklets, brass bracelets, brass betel boxes, sarongs, spears, krises, gongs, bead necklaces, horses, gold necklaces, carabao — all of these things may be given as security settlement.

Now, when they have finished giving the *tamuk*, it is time for the actual wedding ceremony. What is that ritual like? The mother of

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103 The security settlement is given in several installments, as we have seen, the first being at the crucial legal session when the two kindreds must agree on the total amount and specific items of *tamuk* to be given. What is not turned over at that time is supposed to be given at another legal session on the morning of the wedding ritual. In practice, some undelivered balance is frequently permitted to stand past the day of the wedding.

104 In fact, physical beauty is not the only, or even the main, consideration in the selection of a bride, or in security settlement negotiations. Far more important are good health and a pleasant, industrious, personality. Perhaps the most significant factor of all is the perceived desirability of the girl's kindred as in-laws.

the bride prepares a betel quid and hands it to her daughter, asking her to pass it on to her groom. Then when they have finished chewing, the elders bump the couple's heads together. This is how Teduray marry.<sup>105</sup>

Now, regarding those chewed quids, do you suppose that the couple will throw them away? No. They keep them until they die.<sup>106</sup>

That completes the wedding customs of the Teduray.

## **VIII. Concerning Anniversaries of Weddings and Births**

79. I now want to tell my reader about another Teduray custom, with regard to those who are already married. When they have been married a year, or when a child is born, something will be

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<sup>105</sup> Sigayan describes the wedding ceremony here in drastically abbreviated form. After the bride has been brought out from her *sibey* enclosure, and the groom has been led to her side, the couple are seated on a cushion. A legal specialist from each party then comes and stands in front of the couple — the kefeduwan representing the man's kindred in front of the bride, and the kefeduwan representing the bride's kindred in front of the groom. As this is being done, the mother of each prepares a betel quid, and passes it to her new child-in-law. The couple chew for a few moments, then place the chewed quids on a handkerchief. Their two legal specialists then move behind the couple, and, while giving a speech of advice, comb the hair of their new in-law. A single plate is then brought in, containing some rice and a hard-boiled egg cut in two. The bride and groom eat a bit of the rice and the egg, and the wedding ritual is complete. The couple is henceforth married. Old folks from Awang all concur that that the mothers do not, by custom, give the betel quid to their own child, as Sigayan says. They do agree, however, that the bumping of heads, which is no longer done today, was formerly part of the Awang people's customs.

<sup>106</sup> The chewed quids are hardly kept. They are, by custom, wrapped in a banana leaf and hung from the rafters of the house where the wedding took place. It is the handkerchief in which they were placed that is kept as a treasured memento of the ceremony.

done for them. They will have a feast called *sefeinem*.<sup>107</sup> It is given by the woman's side to the groom.

What is drunk at this feast? They call it *gimas*, and it is made from corn; they think of it as a proper hard drink. It is really strong, and makes one dizzy. They put it in a large jar, which they call a *biang*. It has handles, to hold when it is hoisted to one's lips.

The *sefeinem* is just like the wedding feast. There is no difference. Of course, they do not do the wedding ceremony itself over again, but otherwise the two are just alike, with regard to customs. The man's side again gives *tamuk*, as had been agreed upon at the wedding feast. It is, once more, as though their *tamuk* were payment for the rice and chicken they eat! All of the remaining security settlement must be given at this time.

80. There is another custom among these people that has to do with marriage. I will tell you about it.

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107 The name of this feast, *sefeinem*, means, literally, "let them drink together." It is an Awang custom, influenced by Maguindanaon culture, that is virtually unknown among other Teduray, none of whom traditionally drink any alcoholic beverages. Although, as the name suggests, drinking plays a role in the ceremonial, the *sefeinem* is structurally quite comparable to the wedding feast described earlier, in that the women's side feeds the husband's relatives, and the man's side gives *tamuk* to them in return. Properly, as noted above, the entire security settlement should be given at the wedding feast, prior to the ceremony itself. However, in most cases, the legal specialists in attendance permit the wedding to proceed, even though there is some remaining balance. Giving that outstanding *tamuk* to complete the security settlement, is the purpose among Awang Teduray for the *sefeinem*.

If a young man and a maiden to whom he is betrothed should become lovers, they may run away together. Neither their elders nor anyone else will know about it — just the couple. Their elders will only find out when someone says, "The lad, Sigayan, and the maiden, Ambug, the daughter of Mosulatan, have eloped."<sup>108</sup> That means that everyone will then assume that they were probably lovers. They might report, "They ran to the legal sage, Bandara." In such a case, one like Bandara, to whom they ran when they eloped, cannot turn them away. They become like his own children, and, having *tamuk*, he helps them out.<sup>109</sup>

81. These people have still another custom with regard to getting married. It is a bad custom, and I am ashamed to repeat what it is. This is also a way of running off, like the one I have just described to you, but there is a difference. Even though some maiden among them is not the lover of any young man, if some people meet her who have a young male relative, they may kidnap the girl for their young man. Although the girl will object, they will force her to go. Now, if the young woman refuses to walk, and if the kidnappers are many and can do it, they will drag her. And, they certainly will be many, for it was their plan to take her with them. This happens when many people have tried to arrange an engagement with her, but her kindred would never permit it. They would not give her up, even when those going to make the arrangements have plenty of *tamuk*.

<sup>108</sup> Sigayan is again merely offering an example, not describing an actual case.

<sup>109</sup> The runaways would, in fact, only go to Bandara if he were a kinsman of one or the other.

82. Therefore, what some Teduray who want her do is wait somewhere for her. They will watch her pass by, waiting for her patiently by the place where people get water, or at some other place where they have observed she frequently goes.

Once they have hold of her — as I have already said — they carry her, not letting her walk, paying no attention to her shouts. She grabs a hold of trees, because she does not want to go with them, but one of the abductors follows along behind chopping the trees off with a kris.

Let us now consider the relatives or parents of the maiden. Once they know what has happened to their young woman, they run after her fully armed. They say in their hearts that they must be ready, for, if they catch them, they will kill the maiden. In their minds, it is not the kidnappers who are at fault; they are angry at their young woman for going with them. Actually, she was forced, and did not do it intentionally — but that is the thinking of the woman's brothers and elders. So they run after her to kill her, because, they say, they were put to shame by her wanting to go along with what they understand to have been an elopement. (That is what the parents of the girl say.) If one really wishes to marry — and they feel it is like that — it is a very wicked girl who wants to go along.<sup>110</sup>

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110 The text, and thus the meaning, of this last sentence is quite unclear.



83. That is what they will say, if they are able to overtake them. Therefore, those who abducted the maiden must be well prepared with *tamuk*. Then even if they are chased, they have some items to leave along the way, so the pursuers will not continue chasing them. What is this that they leave along their trail? Why should the chase after the maiden stop? Because the first thing that they will come to is an unadorned spear stuck into the path. Suppose those chasing do not take that spear, but just leave it and continue their pursuit? They will then find a kris on the path. Do you think they will accept that? No! So, they then come to a stack of one hundred plates, but again they pass it by. They come to a large Chinese jar, but still they proceed. Then, they come across a gong with its hammer, laid upon the trail. Again they keep on going. Then they come to a bead necklace hanging along the path, but they pay it no heed. They just continue chasing, and come to a gold necklace of the “red sun” type.<sup>111</sup> Still they continue running after the young woman. They have just not been convinced by all the *tamuk* which the kidnappers have strewn in their path. They soon come to a horse tied along the road, and a sarong hanging nearby, and a special sarong, and a brass belt, and a large brass betel box, complete with all its various parts. But these people pay no attention to any of these things, for they now pity their young woman.<sup>112</sup> They continue the chase, and

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111 Bannasar notes, at this point, that there are three types of gold necklaces, classified according to their gold content, of which the *furo teresang*, literally “red sun,” is made of pure gold and is the most valuable.

112 Their anger toward the girl is based on the belief that she eloped, and went freely with the kidnappers. Accordingly, the anger turned to pity when they saw all the *tamuk* and cut trees, and thereby realized she had been forcibly abducted.

reach a carabao tied at the side of the road. With this, they have had enough. They do not go on chasing their maiden any longer. They go home and inquire about them, for they cannot disapprove of this man who has so much *tamuk* to leave along the way. The man “would be dead” who still did not agree.<sup>113</sup> Even if they did kidnap her, they can say, “Why do they not respect us?” and, “Is that not *tamuk* that we left for them along the way?” Then those who got the girl could say, “Take your maiden if you do not want the marriage — but you must return all that *tamuk* doubled!”<sup>114</sup>

## IX. Concerning Other Ways of Seeking a Spouse

84. These people have still another marriage custom, which is peculiar, shameful, and irritating. I will tell my reader about it. What is their other marriage custom? It is really strange.

If a young man sees a young girl who is attractive in appearance, well off, industrious, and talented, then he may want her, and may go to her house, to ask her to marry her him. He does not go alone to propose the marriage; he takes along some of his close kinsmen. These companions are the ones who speak out first. They say, “We have come here to your place in order to extend

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113 Sigayan never intended this sentence to be taken literally, as Bennasar did in his Spanish translation (“...*alguno de ellos lo pagaría con la vida*). It is an idiomatic Teduray expression with the idea of, “How stupid can you be!”

114 Their point of doubling the *tamuk* would be that, given their generous offerings of *tamuk*, refusal to agree constituted a fineable insult.

the size of your house." (So say those who went there to make the marriage, those who accompanied the young man.) "Here is the meaning of our coming along with our friend: he has come to marry your young lady. We brought with us *tamuk* for the security settlement."

The parents of the girl do not reply; they are just silent, as are those who came with the suitor. That is the extent of what they reply: they are silent! Rather, the answer of the girl's parents to such a suitor is to draw a kris and try to frighten him by stabbing all around the place where the young man is sitting. If he is easily scared, he will run away. You might think that they would be likely to hit him and kill him, but no, they are just frightening him — that is the custom of all Teduray. Everywhere around where the young suitor is sitting is cut to pieces, even the roof near his head.

This will only end when an elder of the household, or one of the legal authorities, will tell the one slashing so angrily to stop, that he has done it enough. Otherwise, would he just continue?

Now, when this custom is all finished, they have a legal session. At this point, the girl's family will tell those who came with the young man whether or not they consent to the marriage. If they do, the security settlement is given, and the couple wedded that very afternoon.

If the parents of the girl do not want it, things become very difficult. How could it be otherwise, since the suitor has offered a substantial security settlement? If they are really determined to reject him — and do not double the *tamuk* offered — it becomes very hard indeed. Oh, yes — they will return to their home. But the truth is that someone may be missing!<sup>115</sup> Were the disappointed suitors to stab someone under those circumstances, the girl's side would have no right for any recourse.

If you ask what gives the young man's side the right to take revenge, they would say, "It is our right, because of how we were treated when we went to marry! These people have scorned our *tamuk* and, besides, they have considered us as nothing at all, as if we were so many idiots!" Those on the woman's side may indeed not be afraid, but those who went to propose marriage — even if they be cowardly by nature — would just forget their cowardice, having been put to shame.

85. Now, having told my reader this people's custom when they marry — of the young men's going to openly press their suit — I will also say that there is such a custom for women, as well.

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115 This manner of proposing marriage is called *falunsud*, It is a very rare, but a recognized, option in Teduray custom. The girl's kindred is not free to simply reject the suit out of hand. If they do not want to accept, they must cover the insult by giving *tamuk* to the young man's party, or face the possibility of a law suit, or even revenge.

86. A maiden among them may desire some young man. Even if the fellow has less love for her than so much urine, if the young girl is full of desire for him she may forget about her pride. Even though by nature maidens are very shy and customarily only marry when the elders arrange it properly, she may be unable to wait! She goes, therefore, to ask openly for the boy she loves, taking with her a bundle of *tebeli*.<sup>116</sup> If he refuses, she can commit suicide right there in his house.

Just as in the case of the young man's going openly, if the marriage is refused, *tamuk* must be given. If there were no *tamuk*, and if the boy really refused, the girl would surely kill herself.

Actually, that never happens, because if he really feels that way, his elders will put forth another young man for the girl.

## **X. Continuing about Marriages**

87. Since I have already told my reader about some Teduray marriage customs, I will mention another way of marrying. It is very shameful to relate, for it is another bad custom of the sort Christian people would never have. Nevertheless, Christian Teduray, in spite of the Fathers being here from the year 1862 to the year 1872, still follow their old customs.

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<sup>116</sup> Poison plants; see section 64.

If my reader should ask what this custom is, it is this: if a Teduray couple are really faithful to each other, when God claims one of them, when one dies — especially when the wife dies first, and has living female relatives — one of those may marry her husband.<sup>117</sup> This is true even if she is still a little girl. She still becomes the widower's wife, and he must raise her from her childhood. Even if the deceased wife's relatives do not personally wish it, the man's side would not permit them to reject a substitution, for they would take blood revenge.<sup>118</sup> If the woman who died has no appropriate relatives, then one half of the security settlement must be returned to the man's side. Likewise, if the husband died, and if he has an appropriate relative, the latter may marry his widow.

Why do they have such a custom? Because they are seeking to keep their security settlement alive. In this custom of theirs, although the security settlement was given long ago, still generation-after-generation they will chase after it. I think they would go on doing so right up to the end of the world. It is their custom, derived from the ancestors, to provide replacement spouses. So long as some relatives are still alive, they will always continue to do just that.

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117 The replacement spouse must be of the same generation as the deceased man, even though her actual age may be quite different.

118 That is to say, they would take revenge if the wife's kindred did not provide a replacement spouse, but nonetheless retained the security settlement. If they returned all the *tamuk* — or some properly negotiated portion, which would not necessarily be one-half — there would be no question of any revenge.

88. The Teduray have still another abhorrent and shameful custom. Even bad Christians would not do such a thing, and yet there are Teduray Christians right now who still practice it. What is the custom? All right, here it is! Teduray have — that is, the men have — two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, or ten wives. A good man, who can afford it, might even have more than that. They see this as a worthy custom, which earns praise.<sup>119</sup>

89. I have some more to tell the person reading this, about another thing Teduray do, which is frightening and quite beyond the pale. Christians would not do it. Well, what is it? All right, here it is! They will elope together, even if both are married, or if the man is single but the woman is married, or vice versa. They call this *selamfà*. They do not fear this, even though it is terrible. If no one will give the elopers sanctuary, they will both be killed and placed face to face on top of each other in a single grave.

90. The Teduray have another habit. If one sees that his wife is in love with some other man, he will really watch them, and, if he is able to catch them both somewhere, he will stab them.

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119 Bennasar notes that this assertion puzzles him, as it is certain that the Teduray do not permit polygyny, and would seriously censure anyone who attempted it. If he believed that, he was badly misinformed. Polygyny, while never widespread, has always been practiced and respected, and it almost invariably results from their system of spouse replacement following the death of one of a couple. Awang Teduray may well have seen it, partly, as a matter of prestige to have multiple wives, but for most other Teduray that is just not a factor. They are simply following Teduray cultural logic regarding marriage and the security settlement relationship between the two involved kindreds.

91. If the man is in love with another woman, and if his wife sees them, they will separate. Then, only if the man gives more *tamuk*, they will not be divorced.

92. Suppose a married woman is loved by another man, whom she does not love. If he touches her, he will be legally at fault, and will be fined *tamuk*, for she will report him.

93. Now, the Teduray have still another custom. If a young man touches a maiden, the two will certainly have to marry, for among these people the young women do not want to be played around with. They are virtuous. They can only be with a man, if he already belongs to them. That is why should a young man touche a girl, they must marry. The custom is a good one.

## **XI. Concerning Births**

94. Having already described Teduray marriage customs to my reader, I will go on and tell about when they have children, and also about when they are still pregnant, and about what their customs are when they give birth.

95. By custom, when women are pregnant, it is bad to eat shrimp. For, they say, she will die in childbirth, because the child, in coming out, will imitate the shrimp in the water and go backwards.



Similarly, a pregnant woman cannot eat a chicken's egg, taken from inside a butchered hen. For she will be like that chicken whose egg was inside; it might be that, like that chicken, her child will not come out.<sup>120</sup>

96. Regarding their customs at the time of childbirth, they go inside a mosquito net. Some of the women who are helping the one giving birth are inside the net. There are some men —two, three, or four — and a midwife who stays near the feet of the woman in labor. I do not know what all the midwife does, but she is the one who receives the baby.

If the woman is having a hard time delivering, they chew something and rub it on her stomach. I do not know what it is, perhaps some herb.<sup>121</sup> Once the baby is out, they cut the umbilical cord and put it, with the placenta, into a basket, which they take to a *nunuk* tree,<sup>122</sup> and hang it on one of its branches. They do not throw such things away, or bury them. The child is bathed at once.

Now, as to their helpers, they give them *tamuk* as payment for their fatigue.

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120 The custom of not eating eggs removed from a butchered hen is not only followed by pregnant women, but by all men and women of childbearing age.

121 The herb used is chewed along with the betel quid, and the entire chewed mixture is then rubbed on the woman's stomach.

122 The *nunuk* tree is the strangler fig: *Ficus benjamina* (Linn.)

97. I will also tell my reader of another custom of bad Teduray women. If they feel that there is a child in their belly, they kill it by pressing it, or else they drink a potion to prevent the child from developing.<sup>123</sup> This is also done when there is no fixed father.<sup>124</sup> Likewise, those who just do not want to have a child drink a medicine. Those who drink it truly do not have a baby.

98. Since I am telling my readers all about the customs of the Teduray regarding births, I will go on now and tell about newborn children.

On the seventh night, they shave the baby's hair. They leave only a little hair on the top of the head, a little on the cowlick, and a little above each ear. The reason, they say, for leaving those patches of hair unshaved, is so that there is a place for the child's soul to stay.<sup>125</sup>

99. Here is another of their customs having to do with babies. Every day they bathe the baby four times. Even if it is still pink,<sup>126</sup>

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123 The potion is made from an herb, which the Teduray believe is a contraceptive that prevents a baby from forming in the womb. Women will never tell anyone other than their daughters what the herb is. As with another herb that is used to induce an abortion, they believe that to reveal its identity to anyone else, would cause it to no longer work for them or their daughters.

124 If the mother had slept with only one man, she could have accuses him through the Teduray legal procedures. What is implied here is that she had been sleeping with several men.

125 Teduray believe that, if all one's hair is cut off, one's soul will escape through the bare scalp. The patches of hair are left as tokens of a full head of hair.

126 That is, newly born.

and if the sun is hot at noonday, they will bathe the child. They claim that this is a good habit, to cool off the sweat and heat of its body.

It is also the custom of some older people. Even if it is noontime, once they feel the heat in their bodies, they immediately cool off by going to the river. Even more so, if they are perspiring, they will not feel well unless they can take a bath — even at noon.<sup>127</sup>

I now return to the things they do to the baby. They do not have the custom of dressing little babies. If they are still very small, they merely wrap them with cloth. When they have already grown a bit bigger, they will feel the need to cover up,<sup>128</sup> for they know what is proper, and they already feel embarrassment.

100. With regard to naming their babies, when they are still tiny, girls are called "new girl" and boys are called "new boy." This is not yet a real name, but is just their way of referring to babies when they are still small. Once they are big, their names will be changed.<sup>129</sup> They are not named after the saints in heaven; they

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127 Sigayan clearly does not admire self-indulgent people, who jump into the river at noontime. Some Teduray believe that the right to use the river belongs to the spirits at noon, and humans should honor that and stay away. To notify all parties that rights to the river have shifted, a group of five persons play gong music for several minutes at dawn, and again at dusk.

128 Literally, "they will feel the need to cover their little ones." The reference is to the practice of older boys covering their genitals with the palm of their hand when bathing.

129 There is no set time for giving the new name, and no associated ritual, but the name is usually given when the child is about a year old. In some cases the baby name sticks, and an adult is called "new boy," or "new girl," throughout life.

just get their names from the world. Look, it is like this. One of their names is Sigayan, which means "that on which falls the radiance of the sun."

101. I will tell you something else they do with their babies — they lay them down, or put them to sleep, in a cradle made of a sarong suspended from the rafters. It moves softly up and down, and sways back and forth, and they place the baby into it.

102. Having told you what these people do with their babies, I will now go on and say that they observe certain customs when they eat. They will mention the names of babies who are sleeping while their parents eat. They say, "Let's eat, Sigayan; there is plenty for you." The reason for doing this— as they tell it — is so that the soul of the sleeping child will not steal food from one of the cruel spirits, a *saitan*,<sup>130</sup> which, if he ate it, would make him sick.

## **XII. Concerning What They Do with the Sick and the Dead**

103. Now, I will go on to tell my reader about when there are sick among these people. They have the custom, when they are tending or curing sick people, of putting *uwar* (a sort of rattan)<sup>131</sup> around the house. They use this to frighten the *bolbol*,<sup>132</sup> for it is

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130 See section 16. *Saitan* do, indeed, often cause illnesses, but the term applies to all types of spirits who are cruel in any way to humans without provocation.

131 *Uwar* is the vine, *Flagellaria indica* Linn.

132 See sections 36 and 103.

the *bolbol*'s nemesis. *Uwar* is magical; it becomes a snake<sup>133</sup> and frightens the *bolbol*. As I mentioned a bit earlier, the *bolbol* are cannibalistic. They are human beings themselves, but they eat other people; they eat the livers of sick persons. Now, some people can see *bolbol*, for they are said to be *bolbol*, too. These guard the sick, holding a kris. Then, when they see a *bolbol* below coming close, they draw their kris from its scabbard and stab him, to kill him, because he is a cannibal.

Even I have seen how they do it. When my mother was sick, there was a person, a Teduray, watching her at night, using my kris. (I had shined it up, so there was no rust.) I got it, and we inspected the blade first, in case you think he lied. He went down from the house, and not long afterwards came back up. While he was down, we heard a sound — he had stabbed a *bolbol*. The house was destroyed, for the *bolbol* crashed against it, moving as though he were a large carabao. There was a sound like groaning below. Then the the man came up into the house, deeply disturbed and holding that unsheathed kris, which was flowing with blood. His body was also stained with blood. When I saw the blood dripping, I was afraid and I believed it.

104. My reader should not imitate me, in believing the foolishness of the Teduray. The Christians say there is no truth to it, and it will just be a sin before Tulus. To them, believing such superstitions is the work of Damangias.

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<sup>133</sup> Sigayan is making a common pun; the Teduray word for “snake” is *urar*.

Now — about their medicine for sick people — they use various herbs, and as treatment they chew them and rub them on. Some things are really laughable! A Teduray curer touches the sick and, they say, offers a prayer by just moving his lips. They say that he is praying to Tulus,<sup>134</sup> asking Tulus to cure the sick fellow.<sup>135</sup>

105. Now, since I have related the customs of these people when they are sick, I will go on to describe what happens when there is a dead person among them. When someone dies, their custom is to weep and be very sad. After that, they will go into mourning for the dead individual.

106. The custom when somebody dies is this: the moment one loses one's breath, they bathe the body or, at least, wash its face. Then they immediately place a mirror near its head, for otherwise a *bolbol* would approach. (As I said before, they will eat the dead.) When the *bolbol* sees the dead person, it sees two faces on a

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134 Traditional Teduray — when they address the spirits, including Tulus — do not “pray” in the Christian sense of that word, asking for favors or healing, or the like. Their addresses are more accurately described as “orations.” For instance, when an animal is killed by a hunter, he will make an oration to the spirit-caretaker of that animal, honoring the fallen animal, stating his gratitude for the sustenance it will provide, and expressing his recognition of the tragedy of a world in which such killing is necessary. A similar oration is offered the spirit of rice, at the time of the first cutting of a rice harvest.

135 Sigayan is treating Tulus in this passage as the name of the Christian God, which was doubtless Bennesar’s view. In fact, Teduray see Tulus as the spirit who originally created all things, and as a model of proper moral behavior, but not as a healer of sickness. Most illnesses are viewed as vengeance from an inadvertently offended spirit (see section 16), and healing requires a shaman to go to the realm of that spirit, and settle the conflict through a legal session with the spirit’s shaman.

single body. That, they say, frightens it, and that is the purpose of the mirror — to scare the *bolbol*.<sup>136</sup>

107. There is also a kris. If the dead is a grown male, they place a kris by his side. The purpose of doing that, according to them, is that the kris is something of his. Even though he is dead, they can still picture him, whenever they see it.<sup>137</sup>

They put all the belongings of the deceased into their graves. They also put with them their spears, sarongs, trousers, shirts, bandannas, cloth belts and their brass betel boxes of various sizes, along with all their contents.<sup>138</sup>

108. When morning comes, they wrap the body in a sleeping mat, tying it up as one would a bundle of rattan. The sleeping sarong of the dead person is wrapped around the body, with its mat bound on outside of that. This is the way the dead are buried. Very few are placed in a coffin at death; they do not have a custom of using coffins.

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136 The Teduray have the custom of placing a mirror by the body's head, but not one of washing the body. By all reports, even from Awang Teduray, washing the deceased is a Muslim practice of the Maguindanaon.

137 The kris then becomes a memorial heirloom, retained as a keepsake of the dead man. If the deceased is a grown woman, a gold necklace is kept, rather than a kris.

138 This statement is startling, as it goes directly against traditional Teduray custom. The clothes are buried with the body, but never items of *tamuk*, such as spears or betel boxes.

109.<sup>139</sup> The same morning, while the body is still in the house, they cook a large meal, butchering chickens so that the people guarding will have a viand. When it is time to eat, when the food is ready, they never say to each other, "Come and eat," for to invite someone to eat food prepared on behalf of a dead person is considered very bad. The dead person may imitate them, and invite the living to die! (That is what they are trying to evade; hence, this custom.) Accordingly, when they eat food prepared in the presence of a corpse, everyone in the house merely begins eating without any verbal invitation.

110. Once the various customs regarding the dead person are concluded, they take the body to the grave. They use two poles for a litter, with cross bars where the body is tied. The size is measured. to be just wide enough for the back of the deceased. Two persons carry the body.

By custom, the grave is dug very deep. Once they have begun covering up the body, everyone who went along with the burial party helps in filling the grave — even if with only a single handful of dirt. The meaning to them of this custom is that they too will all die, and when someone dies, he should be buried.

111. When they have finished burying the body, they trace a mark around the grave with the back of a bolo. The significance of

<sup>139</sup> In Bennasar's Spanish translation, an error in numbering begins here. Henceforth, the corresponding sections in his version are numbered two less than in the present text.



this is that if there is a *fagad*,<sup>140</sup> who has come to eat the body, he will not be able to see it — it will be magically shrouded in darkness.

112. They also erect a spring-spear trap,<sup>141</sup> made of dried grass — similar to the one used in hunting pigs — near the grave. They say that if a *fagad* comes to eat the body, he will not come near.

113. That completes the description of graveside customs.

When they are going home from the grave, their custom forbids treading on the heel of any companion. They avoid that, as it is considered to be a bad omen. Why? The point is that, should they accidentally step on someone's heel, while taking the body, or while returning home, the dead will do the same thing. Every so often, someone will have to be buried — just because of walking on a companion's heel.<sup>142</sup>

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140 There are many different tribes of spirits in Teduray cosmology, each with its own characteristics and appearance. The *fagad* are a tribe of giant spirits, also known as *busaw*, who are fond of eating human flesh. The *fagad* are said to actually hunt humans in the forest. They live in caves, and are greatly feared.

141 It is called a *feliyad*. Such traps are just one of many devices used by the Teduray to hunt wild game in the forest. The one erected by a gravesite is not a real, functional *feliyad*, but merely a representation made, as Sigayan observes, of dried grass.

142 Evidently, Sigayan means that the dead will be offended and will retaliate fatally.

114. Now, here are their customs upon arriving back at the house from the gravesite, and for the next seven days. When it is late evening, they maintain a fire where they think the dead person will pass. If my reader should ask the purpose of this fire, which they place there, it is so that the soul of the dead person will not get lost, but can find its way home. It is said that when the dead one sees the fire he will say, "This is my house and my relatives and my elders."

According to these people, the soul of the deceased will not go on to its final resting place<sup>143</sup> for seven days. It will stay near its relatives and elders, which is the reason for their custom about seven days.

Each time they eat, they wrap up a packet of rice, about the size of a man's thumb, along with some viand. The spirit of the dead eats this, they say.<sup>144</sup> So, their customs are fire, and food wrapped in leaves. They hang packets of food from the outside wall of the house for seven days. All of this is their *adat* (to show respect).

115. When seven days have passed since the burial of the deceased, they no longer observe the custom of building the fire or of setting out food. They prepare a hearty meal to feed all those who have been gathered in the house, as well as others, who go there to eat. It is their funeral feast.

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144 The belief is not that the souls of the dead physically eat the food, but that they are shown respect and honor by being included in the meals.

116. There is a ridiculous customs in honor of the dead, which is embarrassing to relate. They prepare one roasted chicken and one pot of rice, then two persons take those to the gravesite, and eat them on top of the grave.<sup>145</sup> They never put any salt on food which they take to the gravesite. Those who took the food there eat it. They do not take any water, either, by custom. (I do not know why, nor do I know their reason for not eating salt.)<sup>146</sup>

117. They have a different *adat* when babies die. If the baby has teeth already, they place a knife with its body so that, using the knife, the baby can cut the strangler fig bark in order to suck.<sup>147</sup> If the dead child is still without teeth, they put a ring in its mouth, to act as its teeth in tearing the bark of the strangler fig.

Regarding the dead baby's mother, it is her custom to draw milk from her breast and place it in a reed tube for her child to drink.<sup>148</sup>

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145 The number need not be just two. Commonly, four to six of the deceased person's close friends and relatives go to the gravesite, just before dawn on the seventh day.

146The salt would melt in the dampness of the early morning, and Teduray believe that, just as the salt melted, so too would the relatives of the deceased person "melt," i.e., die. With regard to taking water to the gravesite, Sigayan is correct that this is the custom, but I, too, do not know its meaning, and could not find anyone who does.

147 Infants who die while still nursing are not buried in the manner of adults. Their bodies are lashed into a *nunuk*, (strangler fig tree; see section 96). This kind of tree is held, therefore, in great awe and seldom approached. It is believed that a type of kindly dwarf female spirits live in the *nunuk*, and care for the souls of the dead children. The strangler fig has a white sap, which resembles milk, and this is believed to be the nourishment of the child's soul.

148 This is done for seven days only, until the final ceremonies, and is equivalent to the food put out for the soul of a deceased adult. As with that food, the dead child is not thought to actually drink the milk.

The custom is not to bury the babies who die, but to hang their bodies from the branches of the strangler fig.

### **XIII. Concerning Clearing the Land and Cultivation**

118. Now that I have already told, here in my account, all about the Teduray customs, I will say that they have no other ones — except for their manner of working, their industriousness, and their way of making a living.

119. When it is time to prepare for the planting of rice, these people make a swidden in the virgin forest. They do not choose second-growth forest, if possible, as the trees are too small. They much prefer the virgin forest, where the tree trunks measure ten arm spans.<sup>149</sup>

120. Their method is to cut first the small growth in their plots under the big trees, then, when that is finished, they go through again and fell the large trees, using an ax about the size of the palm of one's hand. The large trees are not cut close to the ground— they erect a scaffold, upon which they stand while chopping.<sup>150</sup> The young men are the ones who do the felling.

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149 Some of the larger primary-forest trees are immense, but they hardly reach the circumference cited by Sigayan. The big dypterocarp trees have good-sized buttresses near the ground, and he may have meant that the trunks, including the buttresses, are that big around. For a detailed description of forest Teduray shifting cultivation, see Schlegel (1977, 1979).

150 The scaffolding is needed because of the large buttresses.

121. Now, once they have finished felling the big trees, they slash the branches of the trees that have been cut down, so that the twigs all lie around, and, when they burn, everything will be well dried, so the fire will consume it all. When the slashed brushwood is well dried, they set fire to it and burn it. After the burning they pile and re-burn the remaining twigs.

The time for planting rice is after they have finished burning the piles of unburned debris.<sup>151</sup> Their way of planting is strange,<sup>152</sup> for the men go ahead side by side poking holes, while the women follow with small baskets full of rice seed.

122. When the rice they planted has begun to grow, and has become quite grassy, the women weed the swidden. Men do not help with weeding the rice; that is just done by the women.

123. Now, when the end of the rice-growing season is near, they do not immediately harvest. First they will burn a *dukah* for its smoke,<sup>153</sup> and cense one corner of the swidden. They bind one hill of rice, then get a single stalk out of the bound group, and blow into it in the manner of a horn.

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151 The practice is to plant a crop of corn first, in widely separated rows, and then to plant rice and a variety of non-grains. Corn is not native to the Philippines, but was introduced centuries ago by the Spanish, who brought it from the Americas.

152 Sigayan probably means the dibble system of planting swiddens is strange in comparison to techniques used by lowland plow farmers.

153 See section 32.

When this ritual is finished, they begin to harvest. (They have allowed the rice to dry on the stalks.) They do not gather the panicle bundles at once; they wait until they have a good number of them.<sup>154</sup>

When the women go home, they take a little of the rice in the small baskets, which they have filled.

They use their feet to shell the rice.<sup>155</sup>

In harvesting rice, they cut off the panicle well down on the stalk.

124. Now, if they want to taste the new rice, they will first toast it in a skillet, pounding the rice once it is toasted. The women are the ones who pound the rice, for that is properly their task. You will never see even a single man pounding rice or cooking food. Women are also the ones who work at the fire and go to get water. Even if it is quite far, it is the women who carry the basket full of bamboo tubes.<sup>156</sup> Likewise, they serve the meals, and also keep in order all the things in the home.

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154 Harvesting, like weeding, is normally done by women. They move through the swidden as a group, cutting off the panicles of rice, and putting them into a basket each woman wears at her waist. When the basket is full, she takes the accumulated panicle bundles from the basket, and piles them on a woven mat beside the plot. After the day's harvesting is finished, the bundles are taken home.

155 Threshing is done on a large woven mat.

156 They typically carry water in a stoppered bamboo internode.

When a married couple is hiking, and they are carrying along something not overly heavy, it is the woman who will carry it. The husbands, you see, will not carry a thing. Suppose the woman is really feeling the weight of the load; do you suppose that he will relieve her? Not at all. Whether they are coming from far or near, it is only the woman who will feel the weight of their load.<sup>157</sup>

125. Now, I will speak of how they eat new rice. Some will toast it; some will boil it and then dry it. These people are really fond of eating newly harvested rice.

126. Their general custom is to eat twice a day. They normally do not eat early in the morning, but only — even if they have food — at noon and early evening.

As to what they eat, it is rice if they have any.<sup>158</sup> As a side dish, they always eat a vegetable, such as fruit from vines or the shoots of certain grasses. It is only rarely that they eat meat and

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157 Here, again, the practice described is characteristic of Awang Teduray, but not of the other subgroups. Most Teduray are resolutely non-hierarchical, and have no sense of male superiority, with rights the women do not share. Certain tasks are seen as gender-specific, but always because of differences in physical ability. Men, being stronger, do the heavier tasks such as cutting down the big trees, while women do the work requiring less strength, like weeding and harvesting. But, there is no sense that cutting trees is a worthier work, or gives higher status, than weeding. Women, obviously, are “specialists” in giving birth, but both sexes care for the children, and being nurturing and sensitive is a male value, just as much as a female value.

158 Some starch staple forms the basis of a Teduray meal, if at all possible. If no rice is available, corn is their second preference, followed by various other roots or tubers.

fish, for they cannot afford it.<sup>159</sup> Thus they seldom have a very exciting side dish with the rice.

It is not their custom to eat sweets after a meal. They do not ever eat snacks, no matter how much they may wish something to chew on.<sup>160</sup>

127. It is their custom to wash their hands before eating. Even if their hands are not dirty, they still wash them with water. That is their *adat*; first they wash their hands.

128. They offer no prayers in connection with meals. They just eat! It is as though they were so many bugs, as though they had no souls. They just grab the food straightaway. They do not remember — they do not even know — that their food is given them by Tulus.

129. The customary Teduray way of eating is for the husband and the wife to eat from a single plate.<sup>161</sup> Others may not join the couple in eating from their plate; it is the couple that is married to

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<sup>159</sup>Bennasar quite correctly notes, at this point, that readers should not conclude that the Teduray lack dexterity in hunting and fishing. They are, in fact, extraordinarily skillful at both.

<sup>160</sup> By snacks, Sigayan probably means Western-style cakes or candies, such as he may have known at the home of Padre Bennasar. The Teduray do eat a variety of wild fruits and occasional cooked starches, such as the toasted new rice mentioned in section 125, as between-meals snacks.

<sup>161</sup>Sigayan says that they “eat together *sefelang*,” which means off a single plate or banana leaf. In Teduray custom, everyone is supposed to have her or his own plate or leaf, except married couples and small children. It is not the case that married couples will always eat this way, but that no other adults ever will.



each other, and it would be bad manners. Even those who are siblings would look very bad to a stranger, should he see them eating from the same plate.

130. The only ones who may eat from a single plate are those who are husband and wife. When Teduray eat, they do so one by one, though all share the same food.

131. Now, while they are eating, if someone should come to their house, they will always invite him to eat. If he wants to join them, they will serve him. One who is thus invited to eat may do so if he wishes. If not, he simply says, "No, thank you." That is all that is required.

132. If the first one to finish eating wants to stand up, he must ask those who are still eating by saying, "I will stand up now." In fact, while others are eating, no one will stand up, for they consider that to be impolite. If people must stand up and walk around the house, while others are still eating, they will always ask permission. They will say, "Although you are still eating, we are getting up." Why is it that no one may rise while others are eating? Because it is not their custom to be bothered or disturbed while eating.

Now these people do not observe limits when they eat. Some are really greedy; even though they have had enough, they go on

eating until every morsel has been consumed. They do not realize that eating too much is a sin to Tulus<sup>162</sup> — as well as apt to make you sick!

133. I will now tell about the customs of these people with regard to sleeping. Each family — husband, wife, and children — has a single mosquito net and a single mat. Young boys and young girls sleep together, right near their parents.

134. Here is a custom I can tell you about, concerning their beliefs about sleeping. When they dream while asleep, they believe their dream will come true. So, they will keep it in mind — especially if it was a frightening dream — and will try hard to evade whatever the dream warned them about. You see the foolishness of the Teduray!

When someone has a dream at night while asleep, he will tell about it the following morning. Everyone will listen, and when he is finished relating his dream, he will ask his companions, "What does that signify?" Someone who knows<sup>163</sup> says that it means this or that — there will be a sickness, or good is coming, or bad luck. I will not continue about this; it is not good.

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162 Again, Sigayan is speaking here of Tulus here as Tulus were the Christian God.

163 The verb used here is *getigan*, "to know something," which, in this context, has the sense of having skill in understanding dreams, a particular gift. Teduray do not really have "dreams" in the Western sense. They understand what we call dreams to be a person's soul leaving her or his sleeping body, and going into the spirit realm. This is the principal activity of shamans, whose distinguishing characteristic is the ability to see and converse with spirits.

#### **XIV. Concerning Songs and Dreams**

135. They have still another custom, when they have overnight guests. They do not go to sleep right away, out of fondness for this activity. It is telling folk stories. Women who know how to tell stories will chant the epic of Lagey Lengkuwos, Metiyatil Kenogon, Bidek, and Bonggo<sup>164</sup> — all of whom were among the first people on earth. They say they are all spirits now, though. The people trust them, just as they trust for good things from Tulus. But, they are not really gods. What the stories tell about is what happened to these people, when they were still on earth.

It is only the women who know about them; the men do not. Whoever does know about their ways will relate what happened to those first people, during the time they were still on earth.

The stories have been handed down from their forefathers.

136. Now, other folk tales are not chanted, but simply told in spoken words; they relate what went on among the first persons on earth, as well as stories about the world's first animals.

137. After that, the women chant and pose riddles; just fitting in the names of their companions!

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<sup>164</sup> See sections 17-19.

138. I now will tell my reader about their fishing and their hunting for side dishes to go with their rice. For catching birds, they use snares or sticky tree sap. They also set rat traps — these people eat rats! For catching wild pigs, they set impaling spikes and tension-spring spear traps, they chase them with their bare hands, and they set log-fall traps. Another means of catching pigs is with dogs. Their dogs— even those with upright ears— are really ferocious toward wild pigs.

For fishing, they use their bare hands in the water, or they use spring-door fish traps— once a fish is inside it cannot get out— or various other woven basket traps. They use fish poles, fishing spears, hooks secured to posts, long lines with large hooks, and, in the ocean, nets. Their best way of catching fish is by poisoning the water with *tebeli*,<sup>165</sup> *gasi*,<sup>166</sup> *sedan*<sup>167</sup> and *rembuwayà*.<sup>168</sup>

139. There is still some more I want to tell my reader. A custom among Teduray, which they believe and which is true as far as they are concerned, is this: they never laugh at anything an animal might do — and this is true of worms, really of any animate creature — for they will be *simbelowon*. What is it they call *simbelowon*? Their community will be treated very harshly. There will be heavy rain and strong winds, and the teeth of the lightning will bite! Now you see the silliness of the Teduray! All

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165 See section 64.

166 *Gasi* is a croton oil plant: *Croton tiglium* (Linn.).

167 *Sedan* is the tree, *Lepisanthes schizolepsis* Radlk.

168 Species unknown.

these false notions — they cling to them in their customs. It is terrible.

140. Similarly, it is not good to speak to animals; for they say you will also be *simbelowon*. No one, however, has ever experienced this aspect of their customs; they have just heard about it from the stories of the old folks. Once upon a time there were two people in a certain place — Kenogo Lagey and Kenogon, by name. Kenogo Lagey went hunting for wild boar with his dog. He caught a small pig, and then went home. But, his dog went ahead of him. When the dog arrived, Kenogon said to it, "Were you able to catch a pig?" The dog did not reply. Again Kenogon asked, "Were you able to catch a pig?" Three times she queried the dog. She just insisted on speaking to that dog, even though it was an animal and could not reply. I do not know how it was that it finally spoke. It answered the girl about its master, saying, "Yes, we got it, but"— this is how the dog put it— "you will never taste it; you will be punished severely."<sup>169</sup>

## **XV. Concerning Their Leaders and Their Mode of Self-Government**

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<sup>169</sup> This story is a familiar, often repeated, folk tale, usually ending with the boy returning to find Kenogon dead, struck by lightning. The prohibition involved in *simbelowon* is against ridicule of any kind, whether directed toward animals or human beings. Speaking to dumb animals, or picking up their front feet to "dance" with them, are commonly cited examples of what the Teduray consider to be ridicule. Such disrespectful behavior is punished, either by the offender being drowned in a flash-flood or struck dead by lightning.

141. Now, since I have been telling my reader all the various customs of the Teduray, I will go on to describe whether these people are all of equal rank. They are all ordinary people — nobody looks back at them<sup>170</sup> — but they do have an elder brother, whose standing they respect and who respects the standing of all of them. They call him their *kefeduwan*.<sup>171</sup>

Should my reader ask whether all the legal sages are the same, they are not. Some are more highly regarded. Here are their *gela!*: Amirefes and Bandara. Now, the meaning of their *gela!* is as follows.<sup>172</sup>

If there is a legal session that cannot be readily decided,<sup>173</sup> involving these two legal authorities, Amirefes and Bandara, will cause it to be quickly concluded.

Among the various legal sages, one is Bandara. If Amirefes is not present, Bandara takes his place. Another of the titles is Masalikamfu. The meaning of this is that he owns all the Teduray.<sup>174</sup>

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170 “Nobody looks back at them” is an idiomatic expression, meaning no one exerts any special care for them.

171 See sections 66 and 175.

172 A *gela!* is a title, given by Maguindanaon leaders to Teduray trade-pact partners, in recognition of their special relationship; see Schlegel (1972) for a description of the ritually inaugurated trade-pacts, and their significance to Teduray-Maguindanaon ethnic relations. The last sentence of the paragraph is evidently a false start; Sigayan does not go on to tell the meaning of the *gela!*, but rather to describe the effectiveness of Amirefes and Bandara.

173 See section 76.

174 Perhaps what Sigayan means by the very unclear phrase “owns all the Teduray,” is that the Masalikamfu title belongs to some military commander or civil

142. These individuals that I have singled out have the highest standing among the Teduray legal specialists. That is why I mentioned them one by one. They do not farm. Their work is just to settle the cases of their Teduray companions. Nobody would refuse them by saying, "We do not like what you are asking," or, "We do not believe what you say."<sup>175</sup>

143. Now, the other legal authorities are lower in rank than those, and they receive their *gelal* from the three I mentioned.

144. The titles of the ones *given* *gelal* of lower rank — all of whom are equal, each being the leader of one place are Kafita Watà, Datu Watà, Datu Watà Magalin, Ulubalang, Urangkaya, Kafitan, and Datu sa Falaw.<sup>176</sup> Each of them is the leader of some certain place.

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official. Bennasar notes that he suspects "Masalikamfu" to be a corruption of the Spanish *maestro de campo*, "a title which the Spaniards conferred on certain natives, to honor them for their loyalty to our flag, and for them and their people assisting with their people in the conquest of these lands."

175 Teduray culture, even in Awang for the most part, does not institutionalize coercive power into any personal role, so — unlike the Maguindanaon datu aristocrats — the Teduray *kefeduwan* legal sages are not able to give indiscriminate or arbitrary orders. Their position of respect and authority is based solely on their reputation for skill in settling disputes through legal sessions. I, therefore, avoid using the term "leader" for *kefeduwan* or shamans in my own descriptions of traditional Teduray life.

176 The titles listed here by Sigayan are traditional and prominent Awang-area *gelal*.

145. Now, I will just bring an end here to my account of Teduray customs. It seems to me that I have finished what I have to say. Perhaps I did not get to every single custom of the Teduray; I may have missed just a few. But, in fact, I do not think there are any more at all.

146. I repeat again to my reader that, in what I have written, all the customs of the Teduray were brought out. Perhaps I should not admit that I am the one who wrote all this — for I am myself a Teduray. But I will admit it, and I will never feel ashamed toward all those who see it. Never mind. I do not care. It is all right — but I do consider myself like a crow that will call out its own name.<sup>177</sup>

It is as though an outsider were the one to tell all our customs — but the one telling them is actually a Teduray.<sup>178</sup> Well, I could not do any thing about it. I was the first person to become a Christian, in the year 1863, so I know something of the teachings of the Jesuit Fathers. They asked me to put down all our customs in this manuscript, and I was happy to do it.

I have, accordingly, related them in their entirety, so that anyone who reads this will know all the customs — the good ones and the

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177 In the Teduray language, the crow is known by the onomatopoeic name of *uwak*.

178 Sigayan is concerned about having related so many unfavorable customs (unfavorable, that is, to the Spanish priests). along with the good customs (those the Jesuits approve of). His final word on this, however, is the delightful last sentence of the document, prior to the “Amen.”



bad ones, as well. And I say to you, in this regard, that whether or not they please you is, to me, a matter of complete indifference.

Amen. Jesus.

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